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THE

CITY OF THE MAGYAR,

OR

HUNGARY AND HER INSTITUTIONS IN 1839–40.

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BY MISS PARDOE,

AUTHOR OF

"TRAITS AND TRADITIONS OF PORTUGAL," "THE CITY OF THE SULTAN," "THE BEAUTIES OF THE BOSPHORUS," &c.

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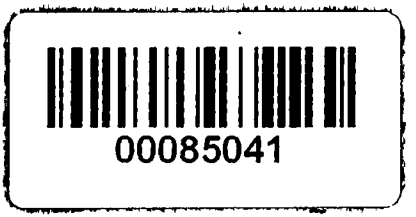

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THE CITY OF THE MAGYAR.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATIONAL CASINO — THE CHURCHES — M. SZÉKÁCS—THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY—DEFECTIVE REGULATIONS—CONTRAST WITH THE UNIVERSITIES OF NORTHERN GERMANY—PROFESSORS, PAID AND UNPAID — AUSTRIAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT — JEALOUSY OF AUSTRIAN EXAMINATIONS—WHY "PLUCKED" AT PESTH—THE ANATOMICAL MUSEUM—CABINET OF NATURAL HISTORY—GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT.

THE National Casino is situated on the Quay, and is a handsome block of building, with a fine portico, in the Italian taste. The whole of the river-terrace is indeed in the same style of architecture; to which many objections have been raised by individuals critical in such matters; but as for myself, I confess that I love the light and fairy-like effect produced by this long line of graceful buildings

when the sunshine rests upon them, and their majestic shadows fall far across the river.

The Casino is as perfect in its interior arrangements as any club in Europe, and is superior to most in the liberality of spirit with which it is conducted. Pesth is indebted for this admirable institution to the suggestions and exertion of Count Stephen Szechényi; and strangers are under great obligations to the Committee for the courteous hospitality with which, on proof of their personal respectability, they are immediately placed on the books, and admitted gratuitously to a participation in all the privileges enjoyed by the regular members.

The Library, although yet in its infancy, contains many valuable books of reference; and in the reading-room Englishmen will find the Quarterly, Edinburgh, and Westminster Reviews, the Athenæum, Galignani's Messenger, and all the best Continental journals.

The ball and billiard-rooms are both extremely handsome; and the Casino known as the "National," for which only nobles or members of the learned professions are eligible, occupies the

whole of the first-floor; the one above being called the *Kaufmaunsche Casino*, and composed of merchants and respectable individuals connected with the commerce of the city; while the basement serves as a *restaurant*, said to be the best in Pesth, whence dinners are provided in very good style all over the house.

The churches scarcely deserve mention, as although numerous, there is not one among them which has the slightest pretension to elegance, either in its architecture or embellishments. On the eve of the new year I accompanied some friends to the Lutheran Church, in order to hear, or rather to see, a celebrated preacher, for I understood too little of the discourse to be able to appreciate its excellence; but it was nevertheless impossible not to be thralled by the emphatic eloquence with which he poured forth his feelings and injunctions, and the graceful gesticulation which accompanied his words.

I was not surprised when I looked upon M. Székács in the pulpit, his intelligent countenance lighted up by religious enthusiasm, and his melodious voice lending a double charm to his

pious exhortations, that every eye was upturned towards him; nor that among the congregation should be many Catholics, listening breathlessly to his doctrine.

But I confess that the delight with which I contemplated the absorbed attention of his hearers, and the tears which attested his power over that most stubborn of all things, the human heart, was much lessened by the aspect of the church itself, with its vast semicircle of candles in tall iron candlesticks surrounding the face of the altar, its galleries stretching one above another like those of a theatre, and the glazed closet of the Archduchess-Palatine projecting into the body of the church with an ostentation as foreign as possible to the habits and feelings of its admirable owner.

The Reformists only possess one other church in Pesth, which is Calvinistic; the Schismatic Greeks have two; and the Catholics seven, without including four fine chapels attached to different convents.

The Royal University was established in 1787, by Joseph II.; but it had previously acquired

some importance from the endowments of both monarchs and prelates. Its Professors are philosophical, mathematical, legal, medical, and theological (Catholic). The endowments of the University are immense, and would equal those of Oxford, did the actual revenues bear any proportion with them: but the landed property of the Institution is so badly managed, and the system of agriculture in this country is so full of old and inveterate defects, and yields so reluctantly to improvement, that the actual income of the University in specie is comparatively small; and this fact seems to have influenced the internal economy of the establishment; for it is evident to the stranger ere he has been five minutes within the walls, that the vivifying principle is wanting.

The interior arrangements are of solid and even costly character; rare woods form the facings of the cabinets, and or-moulu vases adorn their summits, but the spirit of neglect and desolation has folded its stolid wings in the wide halls, and everything looks as though it were buried there, rather than preserved for the purposes of study.

The same lethargy, as I subsequently ascer-

tained, has crept over both teachers and pupils; there is neither emulation, nor encouragement; and with very excellent opportunities of study, the *élèves* of the Pesth University, taking the tone from the generality of their instructors, drone through the necessary classes, "cram" for the required examinations, and then shake the dust of the Institution from their feet, as though they had escaped from a "durance" on which they never desired to look back.

If what the Austrians so well love to affirm be true, that the Hungarians are indebted to them for the progress which they have made in civilization, and in the more useful and elegant arts of life, they have not, certainly, taken the Royal University of Pesth under their fostering care; or they have not yet themselves profited by the able example of Northern Germany, where these scholastic establishments are so differently and so much better organised, that it may be as well to employ a few moments in explaining the contrast.

In the German provinces, shortly after the Lutheran reform, and progressing gradually with the progress of Protestantism, a system of free-

dom and liberality of feeling developed themselves in all the higher literary institutions. In every Protestant University throughout the country the internal economy of the establishment is such, that every talented and persevering individual can procure the permission of the collegiate authorities to practise as a lecturer, without any stipend from the Institution, until such time as he shall have distinguished himself sufficiently to attract the attention, and to satisfy the judgment of the Directors, when an extraordinary Professorship is immediately created for him in the science in which he has demonstrated his ability; and, although there may at the time be several salaried and even unsalaried lecturers on that very science on the foundation, not the slightest interference is offered with regard to the selection made by the students in their choice of an instructor; and they are at liberty to abandon the class which they have hitherto attended, and to join that of the new Professor should they see fit to do so, without comment or contradiction.

Thus, although one individual may enjoy the protection, salary, and distinction of a Government ap-

pointment, it will avail him nothing against the superior talent and assiduity of another, whose own merit has worked out his academical progress; and who attracting together a more numerous auditory, will secure a heavier purse, and more decided distinction as a scholar; and this extremely liberal system of action necessarily creates so much emulation among the Professors, whose fortunes and whose fame mainly depend upon their own energies, that the students reap the benefit by acquiring instructors of more profound and practical erudition, whose energies are ever awake, and whose exertions are never suffered to abate.

Such is far from being the case with the University of Hungary! The late beloved Emperor of Austria was wont to say that he wished for good citizens, and not scientific or enlightened men as his subjects; and I had been told at Vienna by an Hungarian friend, (notwithstanding his profound devotion for the dynasty under which he held a distinguished post,) that I should not fail to find this maxim in full operation throughout all the literary institutions of the Magyar. A wounded feeling of national pride doubtless prompted so

sweeping an assertion; but it was nevertheless borne out by many facts which subsequently came under my own observation; and if it has not been verified to the letter, it is simply because the Government influence has in some instances failed to crush the mental energy of the nation.

In all the Catholic institutions and seminaries the non-progressive system has, of course, been fully followed up; (if, indeed, anything stationary can, without anachronism, be said to be followed;) for the Jesuitical spirit, and the dread of spiritual development, have been as decided, and as satisfactorily demonstrated, as the most Catholic court of Vienna could possibly desire.

There are many persons who have never sufficiently studied the subject, and who having been misled by party-spirit, and party-assertion, believe the Austrian system of government to be one of despotism and coercion. This is an absurd and erroneous error: mildness, forbearance, and moderation are the actual attributes of the Hapsburg dynasty, and the practical features of their rule; and there are even individuals connected with the administration, who far from ad-

vocating the principles of absolutism, would be well pleased could they emancipate themselves from some of the outworn and embarrassing shackles of past times, so ill-suited to the moral progression of the present.

It is, however, equally certain that there are many influential persons occupying the high places at Vienna, and clothed in "the purple and fine linen" of authority and pride, to whom all human, political, and social development is as rank heresy; and who hug the chains of prejudice and power with eagerness and tenacity, because the padlock is in their own hands, and the fetters about the limbs of the people.

This party, in order to strengthen its position, has edged itself about with the Oligarchy and the Hierarchy, strong bulwarks both; but time will prove how far the voices of the few will be able to drown the clamours of the many. There is no intolerance of feeling in the Imperial family of Hapsburg; the evil is midway between the Emperor and his subjects; and a vigorous effort on either hand, will doubtlessly ere long suppress it.

Being, by her internal laws, and ancient pri-

vileges in some degree more independent of Austrian interference than any other portion of the German provinces, Hungary is naturally regarded with more jealousy, and more impeded in her national development. Nothing has been done for the furtherance of science; the elementary, grammatical, and even philosophical schools recognised by the Government are all under the narrow and bigoted rule of the Catholic priesthood; and men of talent, far from being permitted the opportunities of distinction and emolument which I have already described as afforded by the enlightened and liberal economy of the Northern German Universities, can only hope to attain to any post in that of Pesth by the most slavish obedience and devotion to the powers that be, and a total absence of all liberalism in their political principles.

Great must be the exertion, and immense the interest, by which a Protestant can attain to the honours of a Professorship; and when he has come out of the struggle victorious, does he profess philosophy, mathematics, law, or theology, his salary amounts to from £60 to £110 annually;

should he profess medicine, it produces, all emoluments included, the magnificent sum of £200.

These facts, which I learnt from a very intelligent young medical man whose acquaintance I made at Presburg, I took some trouble to investigate during my stay at Pesth, and found that they had in no instance been exaggerated. He further assured me that, a Professorship once granted, the collegiate authorities gave themselves no trouble whatever on the subject of the eligibility of the candidate for the task which he had undertaken: his class was assigned to him, and the students must attend it, whether satisfied or not, if the political tenets of the Professor were such as to render him a welcome acquisition to the Directors, and the Government.

My informant, when he went up for his last examination, in order to obtain his diploma as physician, was refused a certificate because—he wore mustachioes! And a friend of his on the same occasion (both being Protestants and Liberals), in consequence of the insufficient ceremony of the bow with which, on entering the hall, he had saluted the assembly.

This child's play among scientific and learned men would provoke a laugh did it not excite a painful feeling even amidst its very absurdity.

What is to be expected from an institution thus trammelled and degraded? Its diplomas are accepted because the members of the different professions could not practise without them: but they are the jest of those who profit professionally by their privileges; and while this feeling of public contempt is suffered to exist, the Hungarian University can never take high ground, nor satisfy the requirements of a people awaking broadly like the Magyars to the vast importance of national literature and science.

Another evil strongly requiring redress is the very inefficient and unworthy manner in which the Professors of the institution are remunerated.

A little energy and judgment applied to the administration of the collegiate estates would augment their revenue fourfold, and enable the authorities to provide for their *employés* the incomes of gentlemen; whereas, at present, they

are scarcely supplied with the means of existence.

But, alas, for the Royal University of Pesth! there does not appear at present to be more promise of the one reform than of the other; and I was much struck by the liberal admission of a very talented Catholic gentlemen with whom I was lately conversing on this subject, and who wound up his remarks by saying; "It is a strange and an unworthy fact, that while every enlightened Roman Catholic is compelled to admit the superiority of Protestant education, and the much greater proficiency to which the youth of the Reformed Church attain than those of their own, every Protestant Professor who forces his way into the ranks of the University is nevertheless a thorn in the side of his colleagues. They would fain proceed in the work of education *januis clausis*, opening out nothing which counteracts their own individual views; and the presence of another creed, and another party, necessarily tends to disarrange their system, and to extend or break through the narrow circle of their prejudices."

Sorry am I to be compelled to add, that this picture of the Pesth University may serve as a model for that of every other great scientific institution in Hungary.

As a building the University is plain, heavy, and sombre; an effect greatly heightened to the stranger by the extraordinarily neglected appearance of its interior. The Museum contains some very valuable specimens both of natural history and science. The Anatomical preparations and models are said to be both curious and interesting; but the collection of minerals is rather extensive than precious, although there are necessarily some fine specimens among them. The Cabinet of Natural History possesses many colossal remains of the Elk and the Elephant from the bed of the Theiss; skeletons of numerous exotic animals very carefully mounted; and a vast and varied collection of native birds, ruined by the defective manner in which they have been preserved.

The education is gratuitous, and the number of students averages about a thousand. The Observatory on the Blocksberg, the Botanic Garden

in the rear of the Hungarian Theatre, and a Library of six thousand volumes, in the most deplorable state of disorder, are appurtenances of the University.

It is painful to reflect how much excellent material has been sacrificed to party and sectarian spirit in this national establishment.

CHAPTER II.

HOSPITAL OF ST. ROCH—M. LE DIRECTEUR—A RECEPTION—THE GUIDO RENI—A BATTLE-PIECE—THE WARDS—THE ALMSHOUSE—THE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL—LIBERAL FEELING OF THE COMMITTEE.

SOME time after my arrival in Pesth, I joined a party in a visit to the great hospital of St. Roch, which is situated at the extremity of the Josephstadt. It is a large, cold, bleak-looking building with vaulted passages, as comfortless in appearance as a deserted manufactory; and I was really glad when my attention was directed to a handsome edifice now in progress of erection, which has been very ably designed, and is to be built with great solidity, for the reception of about eight hundred patients.

But before I proceed to the wards, I must first give a sketch of their guardian, M. le Directeur Windisch, to whose apartments we at once pro-

ceeded. He was a little, keen-looking man, with hair as white as snow, and a magisterial, self-complacent expression of countenance; his costume was black, and he had (of course!) a meerschaum between his lips, which had filled the room with vapour.

As the door opened to admit us, he turned towards it with a frown which was the very antipodes of a welcome, but he had no sooner recognised my companions than it changed into a glad smile, and his brow lighted up with pleasure, while he received us with a warmth of courtesy which is always delightful in age, exclaiming good-humouredly at the same time; "Here's an hour to select for visiting a public establishment; when the cloth's laid, and the dinner about to be served—however, luckily, my daughter is out, and before she returns we shall probably have completed our survey. But the ladies must see my picture—there is not such another in Pesth. That is"— he added with a sudden cold haughtiness; "if they know anything about pictures; otherwise it will be waste of time."

As all people are alike physicians and con-

noisseurs, with a cure for every disease and a phrase for every criticism, we, of course, declared ourselves amateurs of the arts; and with a consequent accession of courtesy, the worthy old gentleman led us forward to an inner room.

I am not surprised that he should have made conditions, for assuredly we were all perfectly unprepared for the rich treat which he had in store for us. "The" picture was a half-length of John the Baptist, by Guido Reni, of the last finish and beauty—well might its owner declare that "there was not such another in Pesth;" he might have made a far prouder vaunt, and have been borne out nobly in his assertion. I have visited a hundred celebrated galleries, and generally under the guidance of such efficient *ciceroni* that I must have been made of potter's clay had I not learnt to estimate such a work as that on which I now looked within the walls of St. Roch.

It were supererogatory to describe the accessories of the painting, for the subject has been so frequently treated, and so universally conceived in the same spirit, that the very name of John

the Baptist conjures up a lamb, a rude crucifix, and a vestment of skins; but I may nevertheless be permitted to mention that in this instance the Saint was represented in that full flush of youth which is just verging upon manhood; and that probably such perfect beauty of feature, combined with such extreme anguish of feeling, have seldom been produced.

The flesh-tints were perfectly miraculous; and when, at the desire of the Director, the shutters were closed, and the light of a single candle flung upon the canvas in a particular direction, I almost believed against my reason that the figure was starting from the frame, although I could not help regretting this artificial method of producing effect, for the painting was too masterly to require trick or deception to heighten its value.

And the exhibitor himself was a study! And startled and enthralled as I was for a time by the breathing canvas of the immortal Guido, I could not but divide my attention ere long between the Saint and the Director. His excitement and agitation were beyond description—he seized us

alternately by the shoulders to place us in the most advantageous position for distinguishing the peculiar beauties of the painting; he threw himself into attitudes of admiration and delight more suited to seventeen than to seventy—he wiped the dew from his forehead—he vibrated in every nerve. Never did pilgrim bend the knee at Mecca with more intense devotion than M. le Directeur of St. Roch bowed before his Guido—it was his wife—his child—his world—his happiness. The spirit of the painter must have exulted, did spirits indeed people this dull, heavy world of ours, in such a worshipper as M. Windisch.

From the Guido we proceeded to the dining-room, to look at a painting on oak, which to me was more extraordinary than pleasing. It was of considerable size, and represented the battle of Stockach, which took place in 1798, between Prince Charles and Jourdan. At the first glance I was struck with the grouping of the figures in the foreground; and on approaching in order to examine them more closely, was surprised to find that the heads of the principal personages,

comprising among them Charles and his staff, were all painted on ivory and inserted into the wood; they are authentic portraits, and executed with much delicacy. The name of the artist is Tochbihler.

But to return to the Hospital. The building in its present state is calculated to accommodate three hundred patients, the average number generally to be found there being about one hundred and seventy. It is the largest establishment of the kind in Hungary, and the Hospitals of Grabooszky, Gemse, and Mayerfy are its dependencies.

The most perfect and scrupulous cleanliness was perceptible throughout all the arrangements; and the venerable Director appeared to be almost as enthusiastic about his patients as about his paintings.

It was admirable to see the courtesy with which, as he entered each ward, he withdrew his fur cap while he enquired of the nurses whether any changes had occurred among the sick since his last visit; as well as the affectionate respect with which the pale sufferers looked towards him.

He informed me that from the 1st of November 1838, to the 31st of October 1839, six thousand two hundred and eight patients had been admitted at St. Roch; of whom five thousand two hundred had left the establishment cured, and six hundred and thirty-three had died. As it was what is here termed "a fever-year" the mortality was above the usual average. Of these patients two thousand three hundred and ninety-five had paid a small sum towards defraying the expenses of their illness, leaving three thousand eight hundred and thirteen who were treated gratuitously.

Attached to the Hospital is an Almshouse, where thirty poor men and thirty poor women, all above sixty years of age, are clothed, fed, and lodged.

The situation is very advantageous, being open and airy; but the building suffered considerably during the inundation, having been flooded for a depth of ten or twelve feet.

It may appear singular that in a country with a population of eight hundred thousand, the Hospital of St. Roch, which, even when the new edifice is completed, will contain only eight hun-

dred individuals, should be the largest sanatory establishment in existence; but it must not be forgotten that the self-devoted communities of Mercy, both male and female, provide for a vast number of sick, and that the convents of this order are very numerous in Hungary.

To me, however, the most interesting institution of this description in the country, is the Children's Hospital, of which Dr. Schoepff is the Director, and which we visited under his auspices.

The sufferings of an adult are soothed by a thousand means. He can communicate his wants, his wishes, and his feelings; he can find solace in the tears and cares of those who love him; he can explain, and expostulate; but the pain-wrung infant depends solely and entirely on the tenderness and judgment of those about it; and it was consequently a beautiful sight to look upon the children in the *Gyermek-Gyógyinsezet* of Pesth, and to feel that here they had found both the one and the other.

This establishment has only existed a few months, a fact which is not to be detected by the visitor, for the perfect order and neatness in which

everything is kept would seem to be the result of long experience. It is singular, when we consider the immense national, as well as individual importance, of checking disease, and developing both the moral and physical resources of infants, on whom so much is hereafter to depend—who are to maintain the character of our country, of our aristocracy, of our citizens, of ourselves in short—that this branch of the medical profession has always hitherto been more neglected than any other; and that no public hospitals for children existed in Europe until a very recent period.

Strange! that mankind, egotists as they are, should not have sooner understood how much of their own importance depended upon their successors; and above all, should not have felt that in fostering and strengthening the good, and in eradicating the evil from their children, they were but giving a brightened reflection of their own being, and securing additional consequence to themselves. A child can pluck up the slight twig which is just shooting from the acorn, but an army of strong men could not uproot the full-

grown oak; and in like manner, the disease which nestles at the heart of the infant, if dislodged in its first birth, may be crushed and overcome; but if suffered to pollute the blood, and to feed upon the system until the victim attain to years of manhood, the poison defies the power of science, and the curse is continued from father to son until it becomes the scourge of a family, and even of a nation.

Nor is this all; for a diseased system but too frequently, through that mysterious and indefinable sympathy which links body and mind, involves intellectual feebleness, and the evil becomes moral no less than physical; and thus the result of the mischief is beyond calculation.

I am afraid that I am prolix on this subject, but it is one of immense and serious interest; and when I remembered that there was no Children's Hospital even in Paris until the end of the last century, I was really astonished to find in Pesth an institution of the sort, so practically useful, and so perfectly and liberally conducted; and it is only justice to the Hungarians to declare, that although at the present day

there are many establishments of this description in Europe, and the largest probably in the world in Russia, (to which an individual, fully impressed with the immense importance of the institution, lately made a donation of 20,000 roubles,) the Hospital of Pesth is the only one, as I have been credibly informed, which provides positive comforts for the little patients; the others contenting themselves with supplying the mere necessaries that may be required to effect their cure; a fact which must naturally exert a more baneful effect upon infant patients than adults, whose reason, and dislike to confinement and coercion, greatly aid in assisting their convalescence, as well as in enabling them to explain their feelings and wishes.

Thus, in the *Gyermek-Gyógyinsezet*, the mothers are permitted to watch over the sick-beds of their children, and food is provided for them during their stay in the establishment, in the most liberal manner. The advantages of this arrangement are manifold; in the first place the sick child is spared the sense of isolation, which, when it sees itself surrounded by strange faces,

and its little ear is constantly assailed by unfamiliar voices, must add greatly to its sufferings; and secondly the mothe becomes a medium between the patient and its physician, while, what is of still more importance than all else, she learns the value of order, and care, and regularity in the treatment of disease; and she must be very dull or very unworthy if she does not leave the Hospital more efficient in the performance of her maternal duties than when she entered it.

Another admirable feature in the establishment is the perfect absence of all party or religious distinctions; indeed, to so high a point did the Committee carry this feeling, in a city split into numerous sects, and numbering among its population almost every description of Reformists as well as Catholics, and Jews, that they even determined, in the event of any Hebrew parents wishing to send their children to the Hospital, to allow them, should they desire it, to bring the food of their infants from their own houses; but it is worthy of mention, as proving the extraordinary tolerance of the Hungarian Jews, that only in one solitary instance was the offer accepted.

I confess that to me much of the painful feeling caused by the spectacle of suffering, was removed in this Hospital by the presence of the mothers, many of them accompanied by another child; watching over their sick, amusing the tedium of their confinement, or administering the food or medicines prescribed by the physicians. It gave an "at home-ness," and a comfort to the whole aspect of the place which one never looks for in a public hospital.

The *Gyermek-Gyógyintézet* originated with some benevolent individuals in the month of March 1838, who formed themselves into a society, electing as their president His Excellency M. François Urményi; the Count Francis Szápáry, and M. Havas, the late Mayor of Pesth, (who, in addition to his distinguished qualities as a man, has laid the city under lasting obligations by the judicious and admirable reforms which he introduced into its legal and judicial practice,) acting as Vice-Presidents. These gentlemen resolved rather to confine their sphere of usefulness, and to render the establishment as perfect as possible, than to make an ambitious attempt at space and

display, which must necessarily with limited means, entail defects and deficiencies fatal to the purposes of the institution. Thus, they commenced their undertaking by selecting as the Director of the Hospital a man of practical talent, whose experience and judgment in the treatment of children had been universally acknowledged. To Professor Schoepff the whole organisation of the establishment was confided, with ample funds to carry through all his views; and the appointment of First Physician and Director; Her Imperial Highness the Archduchess-Palatine graciously consented to become the Patroness of the charity; and in the month of August the good work began, under the most favourable and encouraging auspices.

The situation of the house is excellent, opening upon gardens on both sides, and its interior arrangements are admirable. It is like a model for an hospital, containing only five chambers and fifteen beds of different sizes, seven of them being adapted for the accommodation of the mother as well as the child; but great additions are about to be made through the phi-

lanthropy of wealthy and influential persons, among whom Count Francis Szápáry stands pre-eminent, his individual contributions almost doubling the resources of the institution.

At present there are two assistant physicians, a housekeeper, and three nurses, attached to the establishment; a neat little laboratory, and operating and dissecting rooms; no expense is spared in the treatment of the patients, and the most unwearied attention, as well as the most skilful exertions, are lavished upon the sick.

No children are received after their thirteenth year; and only the most severe and dangerous cases are admitted, owing to the extremely limited nature of the establishment; but in addition to these, the charity takes charge of numerous out-patients, who are visited and treated in the houses of their parents.

This year about seven hundred and fifty patients were attended by the physicians of the institution, one half of which number were received into the house: the mortality averaged ten in the hundred; a small proportion when it is remem-

bered that none but dangerous, and even desperate cases are considered eligible.

I have dwelt at great length upon this subject without, however, I trust, having wearied my readers; for myself, I was so much interested and delighted with the establishment, and so courteously conducted over it by Professor Schoepff, that I shall ever recur to it with pleasure; and have felt much gratification in offering my very inadequate meed of praise to so interesting and important an institution.

CHAPTER III.

IMPORTANCE OF A NATIONAL LANGUAGE—INFLUENCE OF THE SCLAVONIANS—BEAUTY OF THE NATIONAL IDIOM — MAGYAR BARDS AND BALLADS — MENNESINGERS—JESTERS—TROUBADOURS—SOVEREIGNS OF HUNGARY — STRUGGLES OF THE NATION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THEIR LANGUAGE—THE CELTIEN INSTITUTE—DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS OF CIVIL WAR.

So much of the nationality of a country depends upon its language, that where, as in Hungary, the suppression of the native idiom by one party, and its continuance and progression by the other, have been made subject of long and vehement discussion in the Legislative Chambers, it becomes doubly interesting to trace the vicissitudes through which it has passed, and to consider the effect that it has produced on the national character, both socially and politically.

It will be at once evident that the Magyars, the

conquerors of a land which they were too few in number to populate to one-fourth of its extent, and surrounded on all hands by the hostile and jealous colonies of the vanquished, would become even painfully anxious lest their own tongue should be merged in those of the different tribes by which they were environed; and to this feeling doubtlessly is to be attributed the fact that, although even among the Sclavonians many individuals may be found who for the purposes of convenience and traffic have permitted themselves to acquire some knowledge of the Magyar dialect; no Hungarian will ever suffer himself to utter a sentence of Sclavaque.

The numerical power, combined with the encouragement afforded to the Sclavonians by Russia, naturally render that people the most formidable under every phase with whom the Hungarians have to contend on their own soil. Their external strength, produced by brotherhood with the Sclavonians in other countries, cannot be regarded otherwise than with suspicion by the Magyars, who instead of spreading themselves over many lands, are condensed and isolated as a people;

and the rather that the hate which exists between the two nations, however it may be conquered in individuals, remains in full force as a collective feeling.

The Hungarian language, however, possesses intrinsically sufficient beauty as well as antiquity, to inspire interest, even without these extraneous considerations. And I therefore deem it expedient to record a few remarks upon the subject, as being essential to a full development of the national character, its memories, and its resources.

At present, worthy as it is of general notice, the peculiarities of the Magyar language are little known in Europe; nor are they ever likely to become extensively studied even by the professional linguist, inasmuch as the idiom is useless beyond the Hungarian frontier; while on the other hand the productions of the Hungarian writers are now beginning to be appreciated by the German public, and are consequently almost universally translated into that language.

It has been more than once asserted by Sclavonian writers that the Magyar dialect was a mere corruption and admixture of several other tongues,

into which their own, greatly degraded and impoverished, had largely entered. This is, however, proved to be a fallacy by even the slightest study of the subject.

It is matter of history that like many other nations more or less civilized, the Magyars possessed their national bards and ballads at the period of their first invasion of the European provinces.

The German chronicles mention and even quote several of these; adding that they not only indulged in war-songs, but that they also delighted in others of a softer description; and at a very early period mention is made of a class of men called *Dallos*, or Menne-singers.

The Kings of Hungary, imitating the other Sovereigns of Europe with whom they came in contact, also supported jugglers or buffoons at their courts, a fact well attested by the old chronicles, ordonnances, and receipts of the period; most of which, however, exist in Latin, in consequence of the state-secretaries having been almost universally priests. They were called *Joculatores;* and they ultimately became so universal a feature of royal luxury, that the Sovereigns even assigned

estates to them for their support, which were registered as *terra joculatorum*. These subsequently yielded to the troubadours, who like those of Provence, and the Sicilian trovatori, with as much power over the animal spirits of their hearers, addressed themselves rather to their hearts than to their habits. Their productions were called *troufa*, whence the Magyar word *tréfa* (jesting) is supposed to be derived.

The history of the stranger-kings who have swayed the sceptre of Hungary, (as for example those of Anjou,) show at once the attachment of the Magyars to their native idiom. The oath of the Neapolitan Charles of Anjou was pronounced at his coronation first in Latin, and then (at the desire of the Diet) repeated in Hungarian. And although Latin was then among the Magyars, as well as throughout Europe, the diplomatic language, the usage was never omitted before the anointing of a Sovereign to demand of the assembly in the national tongue:—"Will you have, and do you desire —— here present, to be your King?" And the Monarch just named (Charles of Anjou,) was compelled by the will of the nation to dismiss

his Italian Court from Vissegrád, and to surround himself by Magyars; and his successor Louis, who was so much beloved by the Hungarians as to gain from them the *soubriquet* of "Great," his brother Andrew who was subsequently assassinated at Naples, and the Queens Mary and Elizabeth, equally consulting their own interest and their duty as Sovereigns, studied the language with such success that the whole of their household was composed of Magyars; and their public acts and judgments pronounced, or at least signed and witnessed in the national tongue.

The will of Queen Elizabeth is still in existence, containing legacies bequeathed to her Hungarian ladies of honour, and drawn up in the native idiom. Hunyadi, the great champion not only of his land but of Christianity, led on his warriors to the battle-cry of their own fathers; nor would the Hungarian army at that period have followed any foreign general.

The son of this great captain and disinterested patriot spoke no language save that which was familiar in the cottages of the poor; and when Matthias his descendant was called by the nation

to wield its abandoned sceptre, and collected around him in the halls of his palace the literary treasures of other lands, and the learned men of distant nations, even amid his zeal for foreign information, he never suffered his love for the national language to abate; but, on the contrary, the stranger-savants who came to profit by his munificent hospitality were encouraged to attend the court, and to mingle freely with the learned Magyars who were his constant guests; by which intercourse an interest was created in other countries for Hungarian literature, and marginal notes in almost every European language now enrich most of the Corvinian Magyar manuscripts.

In the National Assemblies, or Diets, the dialect in use was naturally that which was intelligible to all; and those who, judging from the revised annals and registers still in existence in which the archives of the assembly are drawn up in the language of Horace and Cicero, conclude that the business of the Chambers was carried on in Latin, are deceived by their own inferences, such not being the fact. Hungarian was formerly little written, but extensively spoken; so much so

indeed that the majority of the nobles were ignorant of Latin, and could not consequently use it in their debates.

The correspondence of the central government with the provinces and departments was all carried on in Hungarian. Justice was also necessarily administered in the national language; and it would be idle to believe that because the National Code of Verböczy *(Tripartitum)* was written in Latin, the tribunals also adopted that tongue; which was in fact merely an intermediate agent tending to facilitate communication with those who were ignorant of the native dialect; Latin never having been the innate idiom of the Magyars.

When, through adverse political circumstances, the Hungarians were compelled to accept the protecting proposals of a foreign prince, his ambassadors and agents were necessitated to use the national language in order to make themselves thoroughly understood by those who were thenceforward to bow beneath the sway of a stranger-monarch; and the Generals sent by the new Sovereign to restore order in the convulsed and suffering country which was then quivering in every nerve from

the pressure of intestine faction, could only carry their orders into effect by proclamations and interpreters, the sole channel of communication between the nation and its foreign ruler.

More than once treaties of peace or alliance were drawn up, and even ratified in the Magyar tongue, when they were concluded with monarchs or princes of other countries; in proof of which fact the documents still exist of the peace negociated between Rudolph II. and his adversary Bocskaï with the ally of the latter, Sultan Achmet; and between Matthias II. and Prince Bethlem of Transylvania.

It was always formally exacted whenever a foreign prince came to the Hungarian throne that his successor should be instructed in the national language. Thus it was with Maximilian and Ferdinand, the latter of whom even solemnly pledged himself to contribute to the re-establishment of the Magyar literature, which had deteriorated almost hopelessly during the two or three previous centuries of civil and external war.

It is therefore unjust to adopt without a proper examination of the subject, the opinion which by

some individuals has been hastily pronounced, and even authoritatively asserted, that the Hungarians themselves have never cared for their national language, but have considered it useless to them as a people. They who have done so have denationalised themselves at a foreign court, where amid luxury and enjoyment they have laid down their patriotism a voluntary offering on the altar of selfishness and vanity: but the Magyars as a people must not be judged by such as these. There were higher and nobler spirits ever holding guard over this bulwark of nationality, and striving during every interval of peace, and on every change of masters, to strengthen and support it; many, who spurning the base example of more than one conquered country, disdained the servility of adopting the dialect of their conquerors, even as they rejected the factitious vices of their superior civilization.

In conjunction with this zeal for the maintenance of the national idiom, its partisans naturally turned their attention towards the formation of institutions calculated to perpetuate and perfect it; and the most ancient of these mentioned

in the annals was the Celtien Institute, so called after a learned German named Celtès, a follower of one of the Kings of Hungary, who originated the magnificent project of uniting in a single establishment the whole of literary Europe, of which Hungary and Transylvania were to form the Danubian section.

The state of letters of that period, not admitting so extensive a cultivation of the national language, and the predominance of the Latin tongue yet existing in all affairs connected with the Government, this establishment, like the numerous societies of Italy, would have ultimately passed from the language of ancient Rome to that of the country; and, similarly to the restored literature of the Florentines, that of the Magyars would have recovered its originality.

But this was not to be.

The tolerably numerous schools which had been already established, disappeared gradually for want of support; the nation being too much occupied at that period in struggling for its existence, and in striving to protect its independence

—too much exhausted by pressure from without, and contentions which tended rather to further the interests of individuals than to benefit the people at large—to turn its attention to anything which did not breathe of war, and peril, and excitement.

The great literary treasures collected by the most patriotic of the Hungarian Kings, the chivalrous Corvinus,—the library which was the theme of all civilized Europe—the *chefs-d'œuvre* of painting and of sculpture with which he had embellished the royal palace of Buda,—Where are they now? The artist, the *savant*, and the antiquary may search for them alike in the capital, and amid the regal ruins of Vissegrád, but he will find nothing to repay his scrutiny.

A few of the precious MSS. may indeed be encountered in foreign libraries; but of the masterpieces of the chisel a few moss-grown stones alone remain—a meaningless mockery of the past! The merciless scourge of the most pitiless of all wars—of civil war—has swept away the whole in one vast and irremediable ruin; and two hundred

Latiatuc feleym ⁊ untuchel Sermo cuz sepulchri-um.
muc vogmuc. ysa pur es chomuv uogmuc. O enyi milostben
terumteve eleve muv isemuent adamut. es oduta vola neki
paradisumur haz óá. Es mend paradisumben uolov gumilcicuul
munda neki elmuc. Deon tuhuva wt ig sa gumuce tvl. be-
mundoa neki meret mū eneyc. ysa ki nopun emdul oz gumil
tvl. halalnec halalā.al holz. Badlaua choltat terumteve isten
tvl. ge feledeve. Engede urdung intervinec. es evec oz tiluvt
gumilstvl. es oz gumilsben halalut evec. Es oz gumilsnec vvl
keseruv uola viz e. hug turchiucat muge ⁊ occ ⁊ua vola.
Sum heon mugta nec. ge mend w fouanec halalut evec.
Dorogtvec isten. es veteve wt ez muncas vilagbele. es levn
halalnec es puculnec fez e. es mend w nemenec. kic oz ve.
muv vogmuc. Bug es tiv latiatuc sz untuchel. isa es mm
igg emben muichotua ez vermut. ysa mend oz chuz tarov
vogmuc. Vimaggue urome isten kegilmet ez lehc ert. hug
iorgosum w neki. es kegiggen. es bulsassa mend w bunet.
Svimaggue szen achsem mariat. es bovdug michael archangelt.
es mend angeleut. hug umaggonoc eretre. Es tumaggue
szeut peter urot. kinec odut hotolm ovdoma. es ketnic.
hug ovga mend w bunet. Es vimaggue mend szentueut.
hug legenec neki seged urome seme eleur. hug isten iv u-
madsaguema bulsassa w bunet. Es z oboducha wt urdung
ildetuit vl es pucul kuz arua tvl es ez esse wt paradisu
muculnabelt es oggun neki munh uruz agbele utot. es
mend iovben rez et. Es keassatuc uromchuz charmul. kirl.
Seeretmes bratym umaggue ez scegin emben lilki ert.
kit vr ez nopun ez homus vilag timnucebelevl mente.
kinec ez nopun teftet timetive. hug ur uvt kegilmchel
abraam. ysaac. iacob. kebeleben helhezie. hug birsagnop
ivtua mend vv szentu es umittei cuzicum iov
felevl iochtotua ulezie wt. Es tivbemetuc. clamate u. k.
Oprime nostus fris km deu mia. Dic faciat sacdos smone pplo.
quanta grā dns dī grauficauerat primum adam patrē
nrm. ⁊ diabolo suadente dū peccauit. quid sibi & oīb⁹ sius
posteris tē pmerut. ecce frs uderus oculus nestrus

years have failed to repair the ravages of the destroyer.

We will now consider what were the first feeble traces of the restoration of Hungarian literature.

CHAPTER IV.

TRAMMELLED POSITION OF INTELLECTUAL HUNGARY—EXERTIONS OF THE ARISTOCRACY AND THE SAVANTS—INCREASE OF THE LATIN—SUPINENESS OF THE PEOPLE—INTRODUCTION OF THE LATIN AT THE DIET—FOREIGN COLONIZATION—VENAL WRITERS—LATIN OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS—ABORTIVE PATRIOTISM—EUROPEAN PROGRESS—COUNT LADISLAUS HALLER—COUNT FRANCIS BACKOCSZY—PRIESTLY ORATIONS—THE PALATINE BÁTHORI—MAGYARISM OF MARIA THERESA—NOBLE RENEGADES—CONVENT OF THE ENGLISH LADIES—OUTLAY FOR THE ROYAL PALACE—UPPER HUNGARY—DENATIONALISED THEATRES—THE TOWNS—TARDY REGRETS—DESPONDING ANTICIPATIONS—THE BODY-GUARD OF MARIA THERESA—THE ELEGIES OF ANYOS—ENCOURAGING MEMORIES.

THE example of foreign Academies could not at that period be adopted in Hungary; for at Buda the sway of the Crescent fell heavily on the nation, and effectually crushed every effort towards progression, either mental or physical.

At Alberoyale the Tatares burnt down the library of a national prince.

And yet, even under these discouraging, and it might almost have been thought, despairing circumstances, documents still exist to prove that certain "great lords" nevertheless exerted themselves for the advancement of science; and that several learned men combined with them in an effort, which goes far to prove that the Magyars required only a fostering hand to lead them triumphantly along a way which they were of themselves so anxious to follow. But where was this directing and supporting influence to be found in a land torn by faction? The country had not yet learned its own moral strength: and far from putting forth its energies in so high a cause, was still in the infancy of its intellectual power, and rapidly gnawing away its own vitals by intestine feud.

In Transylvania, from the time of Leopold I. the Latin language only had been spoken. In Hungary, from the year 1700 the national literature had experienced nothing beyond coldness and neglect. Until 1770 there had been "La-

tinization," and thence to 1790 "Germanization;" but this was only a change of evils as regarded the native idiom. The Magyars had attained little in ridding themselves partially of the thrall of a dead language so long as it was only replaced by that of a foreign tongue. They did not seek to Germanize their nation; they would rather have widened the link between them than drawn it tighter; and thus they were more than ever impatient of their position.

Amid all the wise and useful enactments passed during those ninety years in the National Assemblies there is but one, bearing date 1741, wherein mention is made of the legitimate language, and where it is stated that "His Royal Majesty recognises as *just* that the prebendaries, in addition to the rights and customs of the kingdom, should also be conversant with the *national tongue*." Yet, nevertheless, this civilization of past centuries not having taken root, or ramificated among the class of citizens, and the nobles themselves, who should have been the first and principal agents in so patriotic a work, making no effort to advance the interests of the Magyar dialect, su-

peradded to the fact that nearly all the towns throughout the kingdom were founded and inhabited by Germans, (who became so blent with the native Hungarians as to render it incumbent on them for the purposes of traffic and convenience not only to tolerate, but even to study the language of their new colonists,) the goodly promise held out by the decree was never realised.

The retrogression of the national language might, without doubt, be traced to moral causes; and indeed History indicates several of these.

Past events had darkened the horizon of suffering Hungary, and subdued it to inertness, in all save that indomitable love of arms which had, under the influence of individual selfishness and general distrust, withered into a curse where it should have only brought a blessing.

Its learned men were dead, or scattered abroad over other lands. The Jesuits introduced themselves clandestinely into the country; and with them came a renewal of the Latin idiom, which soon obtained so mischievously throughout the kingdom, that the very Magnates and Deputies in the National Chambers discussed their mea-

sures no longer in their own natural tongue but in that of the Latins, which so many efforts had previously been made to supersede; and subsequently (for the evil travelled quickly) there remained only the Chancellor, who, in his speeches at the convocation and closing of the Diet, still addressed a meeting of Magyars in the Magyar idiom.

Among the nobles, consequently, the national language was neglected, and almost forgotten; and meanwhile, the inferior classes were rapidly diminishing in number. The ancient population of the environs of Buda, of Wieselbourg, of Tolna, of Baranya, and the vast plains of the Banat had fallen in the constantly recurring encounters with the Turks, or, more bitter still, in intestine strife. In the fertile districts, become desert by these fatal agents, strangers formed colonies which replaced the native population; but few indeed of these became Magyarised even in their descendants; and where entire villages thrown into close contact with the surviving Hungarians, were even classed under one common name, and considered as naturalised, the influence

of the Sclavonic priesthood made of the new settlement a people anything but Magyar in their hearts.

Most of the authors who forced their way through this chaos of confusion and darkness, had not moral strength to contend against the allurements and flatteries of Rome. They were gratified by the sweet phrases and delicate compliments of this wily court, expressed in a language which might almost be termed European; and which, from its having been made a study by all the *savans* of the time, promised to them a crowd of readers to whom their own tongue would render their productions a sealed book. The Latin alone held out the prospect of both fame and gold—enlisted at once the vanity of the author, and the necessities of the individual,—and the few who, urged by a clinging of the heart towards the idiom of their own land, ventured to write in that scorned and neglected language, like the hunted deer which hides itself in the thicket to die, had nothing more to do than to bury their hopes and their disappointment in the depths of their own spirit, and in the hovels of their ancestors.

Then commenced the publication *in Latin*, of all the Ordonnances of the Diet, and of the warrants and legal acts drawn from the archives of the kingdom; and prejudice so far gained the ascendant over all minds—even over those of *soi-disant* patriots, towards whom many an eye had hitherto been turned in trust—that it was declared impossible in a country inhabited by so many different nations, to use the language of any one of those particular tribes, with the hope of being generally understood, and necessary in consequence to adopt another totally distinct, as a common mean of communication to all.

The formation of Literary Societies, either suggested or accomplished at that period, accordingly never had in view any other language than Latin.

Under such circumstances the Magyar tongue could only succumb and suffer. A few native writers complained vehemently and bitterly of the wrong done to their native idiom, but their very murmurs were couched in the language which they hated; while a few others, as if in defiance of neglect and scorn, produced tragedies founded

on their national calamities in its own slighted dialect.

But these were mere runlets of mountain water, now thrust aside by rock and stone, now hidden by some superincumbent power, and all finally lost in the broad and smooth stream of Latin literature. Nor did the evil end here; for from the study of the *savant*, and the Chamber of the Legislature, the intrusive idiom swelled onward, until it not only became usited in the most minute details of business, but, in some instances, crept even to the domestic hearth.

The long-indulged hope of those who still sought for the re-establishment of their legitimate language, that the great nobles of the country might be at length aroused to the loss of nationality attendant on its disuse, and institute means for its restoration, as well as rewards to those who should contribute to this end, was crushed by the fanatic adoption of the stranger-tongue. Even their efforts pronounced in public to this effect elicited no attention, and were a mere waste of words.

"I could have wished;" said one of Hungary's

most patriotic writers; "I could have wished above all to have written proper names at least in the Hungarian dialect. But in order to have been intelligible, had I done so, I must first have come to an understanding with a few intelligent individuals; for otherwise, the attempt would have been as useless as the trouble taken by one of our learned men who translated into Magyar the relative terms of nearly all the sciences: an example which has been followed by few, if by any; and this is why it would be desirable to establish, as other countries have done, a National Academy, which would contribute to the perfectioning of the Hungarian language."*

The effects of this relaxation were fatal at a period when in order to resist the intrusion of a stranger-idiom so superior and so much more highly cultivated than the native language, it was necessary that the people themselves should have erected as a barrier before it, their pride in its possession.

* Peter Bod—Introduction to his "History of the Condition of the Holy Mother Church Militant," published at Bâle.

The Hungarians could not forget that, in 1730, the Parliament of England superseded the use of Latin both in their judicial and administrative affairs by the language of the land; and that France had spoken her own tongue even before Louis XIV. from 1655 to 1715 abandoned the Latin, until then universally adopted, and drew up his treaties of peace in the idiom of his people; while the brilliancy of his court, the glory of his arms, and the suavity of French society having introduced the language into several foreign courts, other nations studied it subsequently to 1735, and unanimously adopted it in their diplomatic documents.

This custom half gallicised the Germans, the Poles, the Swedes, and the Russians, whose idiom had also fallen into decay; but at the same time as a counterbalance it called into action several of their principal *littérateurs*, and afforded them a mean of fame of which they at once eagerly availed themselves.*

* Even Northern Europe was awakened into admiration of this renown; and at Stockholm, in 1739, a Scientific Academy was established which commenced its Transac-

Nor did the Hungarians amid the general movement remain altogether passive. The energy without aroused a few of their men of letters into action; but unfortunately only as translators. It was, however, a point gained to see their language once more in print; and the Telemachus of the Count Ladislaus Haller was warmly welcomed, not only for its own intrinsic merits, but as a proof that the national idiom was "skotched, not killed," and as an earnest of better days to come. But the native talent still lay coiled up, or came forth coldly clad in the blighting livery of the Latin tongue.

Count Francis Backocszy, Bishop of Erlau, originated the idea of an Hungarian Theatre in the houses of education; but the country as a whole was not animated by the desire of protecting the language. Nevertheless it was the nation collectively which should have made the effort, as it had previously done under Ferdinand the First, and Maximilian; for the question was

tions in Swedish; and in addition to this a Society was instituted in 1789 for the cultivation of the national language.

one no less of individual than of general interest.

At the time of those Kings, the speeches and addresses of the priests, who preferred to use the Latin on account of the ignorance of both monarchs of the Hungarian language, were always replied to, by order of the Sovereigns themselves, in the native idiom; and these same princes subsequently studied it with great zeal, having soon discovered that the Barons preferred it to every other dialect.

It even happened that the Palatine Báthori, when he received Ferdinand on the limits of the kingdom, despite the presence of two Bishops, took upon himself to usurp the office of spokesman, addressed the monarch in Hungarian, and then left to one of the priesthood the task of translating his speech into Latin.

At the conclusion of the treaties of alliance and protection, in 1606 and 1645, the authorities did not even take the trouble of mentioning the support of the national language; they gave no pledge that it should not be supplanted; and yet all the records of the period abundantly prove

that until the seventeenth century it gave evidence of gradual but satisfactory progression. The present dynasty, when one branch passed to the government of Florence, appropriated to itself the idiom of that country; and there is no doubt that the princes who were in immediate contact with Hungary would also have made the Magyar their only organ of communication with the nation, if the Latinised nobility had themselves set the example.

Maria Theresa, who accomplished so much in demonstration of her approval of the efforts made by the Hungarians to support her in her patrimony —who rebuilt the palace of the ancient kings, and established institutions for the advancement of civilization and science—would no doubt have adopted in her Hungarian court the idiom of the nation to which she was so deeply indebted, had the nobles of that nation only prompted her to the good work.' Her high and chivalric spirit was well constituted to appreciate the bold bearing of the Magyar chieftains; and their gallant exclamation, pealed out in her hour of extreme need, of "Moriamur pro *rege* nostro Maria The-

resa," must often have passed across her spirit in the night-watches.

Under these circumstances, no inference can be more simple than that the fair and gifted Sovereign would readily have forwarded the progress of the native dialect had it been required of her: but no such effort was made by those to whom their ancestors had left it as an inheritance. Foreign marriages, an anxiety to vie with strangers in luxury and courtliness, and a constant attendance on the Empress-Queen at the Viennese Court, was rapidly destroying the Magyarism of the Magnates. Even within their own confines the Palatine Esterházy when, enamoured of his widowed Sovereign, in a fit of magnificent gallantry he erected the gorgeous palace of Esterház to do her pleasure, established there a French Theatre and ballet; while at Galgócz the performances were in German.

The charm and spell of so brilliant a court as that of Maria Theresa, where highbred ease and social indulgence superseded the toil and trammel of feudal state, might well be supposed to gather about her all who were capable of refined and

elegant enjoyment; but alas! so potent was the magic, that the first pearl flung into the enchanted goblet by the bold Barons of Hungary was—patriotism. To this new world of beauty, and luxury, and indulgence, they sacrificed alike their national pride, their chivalric memories, and their slighted country.

The natural consequence ensued. Families of high birth, but whose means of mingling with the gay courtiers of Vienna were more limited, began to reflect that on the occasional pilgrimages of their absentee neighbours to their estates, to expiate by a temporary self-banishment from the glittering circle of royalty their past excesses, and to wring from the soil which they had virtually abandoned, the means of indulging in new ones, they were unable to compete with them in their courtly acquirements; and the first effort which they made to do so, was by discarding their native language, of which the sound had become foreign to the ears of their more refined countrymen.

To accomplish this end as speedily as possible all their daughters were placed in religious houses, where nationality was never suffered to mingle in

the educational system; and whence the fair maidens of Pannonia emerged at length German in all save birth.

The most distinguished of these scholastic establishments was the convent known as that of "The English Ladies," from the circumstance of its first Abbess having been a noble English damsel, who, history saith not wherefore, took the veil at Buda, and endowed with her possessions the order that she had originated.

To this fair recluse (if my memory serve me, her name was Mary Hood) Maria Theresa was deeply attached, in proof of which in 1765–6 she established the community in the royal palace of Buda, which had just been completed at the enormous outlay (as shown by a document of the Prince Grassalkovitch, still in existence, and addressed by him as Superintendent of the work to the Empress-Queen,) of three hundred and seven thousand six hundred and forty-eight silver florins, disbursed by the Chamber of Finance, and ninety-five thousand and thirty-one voluntarily subscribed by the counties and royal free towns; a gigantic

sum, when the impoverished state of the nation at that period is remembered.*

It was entirely as a scholastic establishment that Maria Theresa patronised the sisterhood of the English Ladies, and the fact sufficed to fill their classes, and consequently to hurry on the denationalisation of the Hungarian ladies. As wives, they wearied of the conversation of their husbands, despising on the one hand the homely idiom of their own land, and on the other ignorant of the Latin which was so largely in use among the male population; and consequently they succeeded with little effort in introducing into their families the language with which they were themselves familiar.

In Upper Hungary, in the private circles of the noble Sclavonic Hungarians, their priests and preachers engrafted the dialect of the country in which they had studied. And in these different colonies (for so they may in truth be called,) were reared priests, physicians, lawyers, and other

* The community in question now inhabit an extensive and handsome convent in Pesth.

young men of education, who devoted themselves with avidity to German literature, mistaking affinity for originality.

Not a single Hungarian town opened a national theatre; while at Pesth and Presburg, Cassovie and Odenbourg, all the performances, as well as all the dramas, were foreign grafts, to which the public were heralded with as much triumph and self-gratulation on the part of the proprietors as though they had been bidden to a national victory. So far indeed had the generality of the Hungarians become deadened to the importance of their own language, that a public print of the period even went the length of mooting the question—whether either the cause of general literature or of the national glory would be advanced by the endeavour to render the Magyar a printed tongue?

In the towns, meanwhile, nearly all the commerce was in the hands of German traders; and although there were many houses of business known by a Magyar name or device no individual could be found there who spoke the language.

Then it was, when the evil had attained its height, that it began to be understood in all its

extent; and that it became a subject of discussion in the Diet, where the decline of the national dialect was feelingly lamented, and attributed with justice to the lukewarmness of the nation itself, combined with the reckless absenteeism of so many of its most wealthy and influential nobles.

In 1772 several writers of talent exerted themselves in the same cause, and one among others recalled to the memory of his countrymen the truth sanctioned by the testimony of centuries that, "Every nation lives in its language, and dies only at its extinction."

How common is the eulogy on genius that "it will survive until the language itself ceases to exist"; and the very expression proves the importance of the native dialect in whose fate such mighty interests are involved.

The writers to whom allusion has just been made, excited by the works of foreign authors translated into their own language, drew painful comparisons between the state of literature in other countries, and the degraded condition of their own; and anticipated from the signs by which they were surrounded, the extinction of the Magyars as a nation.

It is singular that the individuals who first sought to arouse their countrymen from this mental lethargy were in the body-guard of Maria Theresa. They saw how deeply the root had struck, and they reminded the apathetic that every ray of nationality would be extinguished ere long, if the vapour of foreign innovation were suffered from year to year to stifle the wholesome energies of honest and healthy exertion.

Bessenyei, Báróczi, Barcsay, Harsányi, Czirjék, and Baron Naláczi, all awoke as if touched by a magic wand; and have immortalized their names as patriots by their energy and eloquence in defence of their native idiom.

Bessenyei, who had devoted himself to the study of the French authors, was a partisan of the French Academy, and was the first who presented to the States the prospectus of a Magyar Literary Society (in 1781), but by the treachery or carelessness of the individual to whom it was entrusted, his manuscript remained unpublished; and disheartened by the supineness of his country, he abstained from urging his proposal, always trust-

ing that he had not altogether scattered the good seed in vain.

Nor did the works which he, as well as some others, published on this important subject, fail to awaken an echo in many breasts, particularly among the middle classes, who are ever the most important portion of a population. The elegies of Anyos also found their way to many hearts; and slowly a belief began to grow in the country, that "the Magyar Slave Eurydice," as Martonfi had designated the Hungarian language, might yet fling off the fetters of foreign thrall; and with this feeling grew a consciousness that there was cowardice in letting it succumb without a struggle.

But it required alike time and resolution to unweave the evil that had been suffered to increase unchecked. All the more enlightened families had cultivated Latin, and were unwilling wholly to forego it. They had accustomed themselves to regard it as indispensable, and this prejudice was the greatest barrier to success. The nation had awakened, however, and there were not orators

wanting to remind their countrymen that the language of Homer and Plato, of Cicero and Virgil, had been but the handmaiden of the delicate dialect of Metastasio; and that the genius of a people might immortalize any idiom.

CHAPTER V.

PROPOSAL FOR INSTITUTING AN HUNGARIAN ACADEMY —DIET OF 1835—CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NOBILITY —REMARK OF KING LEOPOLD—MARCZIBÁNYI—M. DE DÖBRENTEÏ—COUNT TÉLÉKI—THE DIET OF 1827 —THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE—M. PAUL NAGY—HIS SPEECH—COUNT STEPHEN SZECHÉNYI—M. VAY—THE FORCE OF GOOD EXAMPLE—THE ADDRESS—PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY.

THE first distinct proposal for the foundation of an Hungarian Academy was made in the reign of Joseph II. by Nicholas Révaï, when that monarch exhibited an earnest desire to encourage the national literature. But the project, patriotic as it was, was discountenanced by the Emperor, who contented himself with the substitution of the German language for the Latin in all administrative affairs; and in May 1784 an act was passed

signifying that thenceforward all the national affairs should be transacted in German.

Despite continual and strenuous attempts to establish and maintain the Magyar tongue in the Magyar country, all idea of a National Academy was abandoned until 1835, when a legislative article declared, that the German language must ever remain a mere foreign dialect in Hungary, and that it could consequently never be introduced into the management of public affairs.

The same article decreed the study of the native idiom in the public Schools, although it admitted the use of the German in all transactions of the Government.

An address was in consequence prepared and presented to the Prince-Royal, the Archduke Alexander Leopold, the eldest son of the Palatine (since deceased), who had studied the Hungarian language; in which he was solicited to become the President of a National Literary Society; but the application was unfortunately referred to a committee, and produced no result.

A second plan was then drawn up, in which the Hereditary Prince Francis was named as

the President; and funds were not wanting to further the undertaking; for an immediate offer of fifty thousand silver florins was made by Etienne Marczibányi, subject to conditions purely patriotic. The idea, once made a subject of free discussion, at once took possession of the public mind, and small meetings were held in several towns; one of which, that of Sopron (Oedenburg) yet exists; and several fragments of the speeches there delivered, edited by the young and talented Secretary, Gabriel de Döbrenteï, appeared in 1804.

The remark of the sagacious and discriminating Leopold on this subject is worthy of quotation, when the establishment of a National Academy was discussed in his presence. "For myself;" he said frankly: "I shall never oppose the undertaking, if the members of the society secure themselves against the fate of several of the learned academicians of Italy, who *having nothing to do* have finished by *becoming pamphleteers*."

As early as 1815 at Pesth, prizes had been awarded both to literary works and translations, according to the proposition and ultimate bequest

of the before-mentioned Marczibányi; but in Transylvania the enthusiasm of the people for their literature led them to make much greater exertions.

This comparatively small portion of the Magyar nation, jealous of its mental privileges, never lost sight of the important subject; and in every rank of life, from the noble to the trader, were to be found there men whose enlightened ideas and expanded intellects rendered them competent to further the literature of their country.

They were already convinced that if a literary society cannot do *all* for a nation, it can at least do *much;* and the Editor of a periodical of some standing (Erdélyi Muzéum) was engaged by two of the principal members of the administration, celebrated for their talents, to draw up a preliminary design for a Society for the resuscitation of the Magyar language.

The author of this plan gave it at once, and without hesitation the name of "Scientific Society." The resolutions of legislative assemblies were taken as the basis of the arrangements; the

extent of the outlay was decided; and De Döbrenteï was charged to obtain the proper documents from the Governor of the Principality. He received a most favourable reply: and in a formal meeting all the rules of the society were specified and approved by the most distinguished of the nobles, as well as the most talented of the commoners; and not only did the project meet with the most cheering encouragement, but also with the most efficient aid, pecuniary and influential. Even the women, many of them of high rank, became interested in the success of this national institution, and furthered it to the extent of their means.

All these circumstances and demonstrations were reported to the Chancellery of the Court, which decreed that as neither the Governor nor the Grand Treasurer had presided at the meetings, a Counsellor must be elected and sent to Vienna. This was done; and the meetings were continued as usual, always with the same anxiety and enthusiasm, when shortly after having made their official report to the Government, an order was received in September 1819, that the preliminary

design and protocol should be delivered up to the authorities, and the meetings discontinued until further orders.

The Chancellor, Count Joseph Téléki, a man as estimable in private life as he is energetic in public affairs, and who, in conjunction with the other members of his distinguished family, presented to the Institution the magnificent library of thirty thousand volumes which had been left conjointly to his widow and sons by the former Count, together with the interest at six per cent. of five thousand florins to pay a librarian; never doubted on the faith of the answer sent to M. de Döbrenteï in 1820, that the consent of the King would immediately succeed this first declaration; but nevertheless, the affair being suffered to remain in abeyance for a time, continued undecided.

In the month of November, 1817, the subject of national education was very generally discussed, and it found so many and such earnest advocates among the States, such as the Count Dészewffy Soursich, Szagedi, and Kolosvári, that the question of the generalisation of the Magyar

language was renewed with an energy which commanded the attention alike of the kingdom and the Government.

The law relating to this measure was already in existence, thanks to the Sovereign and the preceding Assembly; but it had hitherto produced no effect, owing to the polyglotism and party-spirit, which, it was asserted, possessed the whole country.

The necessity of resuscitating the national language became, nevertheless, every day more palpably imperative; and other members of the Lower Table spoke with much moderation and intelligence in favour of the measure; among whom the most remarkable both for talent and judgment were M. Bartal and the Baron Perényi; and shortly afterwards Messieurs Takács, Balog, and Rohonczi demanded that the administrative affairs, the public instructions, and, without further delay, the communications from the Second to the First Table should be framed in the national language; and the hereditary princes instructed in the dialect and usages of the country.

M. Paul Nagy, Member for the Comitat of Sopron, expatiated on the prejudices against which the champions of the Magyar language would have to make war, in a very able speech; from which I have deemed it expedient to transcribe an extract.

"One party;" he said; "has asserted that it is sufficiently flexible for diplomacy, but that party does not understand it. Another fears union in the midst of faction, forgetting that unanimity is the best foundation of thrones. We are so situated in this kingdom that the aristocracy, the citizens, and the peasantry alike disclaim the language. The nobles profess Hungarian liberty, from whatever stock they spring, be it Magyar or Sclave; and they nevertheless protect a dead language as though they had come into the world speaking Latin. The townsman calls himself a German citizen, because he descends from some German artisan who left his own country to establish himself in ours; although, after the lapse of a certain period, the descendants of emigrants become naturalized in those lands where they have found a new home. The peasantry are less blameable,

who have been introduced into the country; for in many districts they have already become Magyarised, and might be so throughout Hungary if their noble landlords acted with circumspection.

"But is it not they who are to blame, or at least those among them who, on their vast estates, do not cause the acts of their bureaux of administration to be drawn up in the Magyar tongue, even in districts purely Hungarian; and who thereby do not support the Magyar, at all events for his knowledge of the national language? Into how many ramifications is consequently split and destroyed the spirit of nationality and progression!

"Thanks, however, thanks to our good King, four legal articles already speak in favour of our language, and the blame rests only with those who do not encourage it in the bosom of their own land.* His Majesty has caused it to be made a portion of the education of his sons. Have all our Magnates done as much? Be it in money or power, show me out of the immense proceeds of

* The present King, Ferdinand V., and several of the Archducal family, have studied the Hungarian language with perseverance and success.

the Magyar territory, one kreutzer which they have employed to advance the literature of the nation!

"Why do they not make sacrifices for the establishment of an Hungarian Literary Academy, which may induce authors to put forth their strength; and which may publish, or cause to be published, such works as we need the most, by establishing a general rule in the adaptation of those words which have come into use, and thus terminate at once all uncertainty as to the application of administrative terms? for so long as one county gives them one signification, and another another, nothing but misunderstanding can ensue.

"It was thus that the French language was rendered definite by its Academy, and amenable to literary rules; and when in our own country each term shall have attained its precise signification, and become perfectly intelligible with its subject, as well as considered elegant no less than useful, conviction will reach even its enemies that we shall have suffered no loss in causing it to supersede the Latin.

"May the great landholders therefore be induced to make some sacrifices for the establish-

ment of this long-projected Academy; for nothing more is required to attain our end, than what a brave officer once declared necessary to undertake a war—Money! Money!! and still Money!!!"

This speech created a great sensation; and when the enthusiasm had somewhat subsided, Count Stephen Széchenyi, ever one of the foremost to promote all national objects, rose, and pursued the subject.

"I am not here;" he said; "on suffrage. I am not a great Dignitary of the Kingdom, but I am an opulent landholder; and if an Institution be established which will develope the Magyar language, and, by so doing, advance the national education of our countrymen, I will sacrifice the revenues of my estates for one year. I do this on mature reflection;" he added; "and it is therefore that I desire a strict surveillance proportioned to the project, in order that the amount offered to the nation may not be uselessly wasted."

Loud *Eljens!* resounded on all sides; and then, after a moment's pause, another member rose amid the succeeding silence, and had already commenced the discussion of a new subject; when

M. Vay, the representative of the County of Borsod, interrupted him by exclaiming: "The unexpected and liberal offer which has just been made, had, like all great actions, stupified us for an instant; but we are once more awake. I offer twenty thousand florins in aid of the good work."

The Count Andrássy succeeded with an offer of ten thousand florins; and the Count Karolyi with six months' revenue of his estates.

Great emotion was manifested by the Chamber, and a vote of thanks was offered to Count Stephen Széchenyi, and those who had so liberally followed his patriotic example.

The four first founders then hastened to prepare a report on the subject of an Hungarian Academy to the Archduke-Palatine, who was requested to become its protector; and to appoint a national commission to produce a preliminary plan, and to draw up the fundamental laws of the Institution.

This was at once put into execution, and the patriotic offers of pecuniary assistance were multiplied. The Archduke-Palatine himself con-

tributed liberally towards the undertaking; and in a short time the capital destined to this important work amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand silver florins.

All murmurs were hushed. Every one began to believe in the patriotism of the high aristocracy, on whom, in every country, so much depends, as the great magicians whose wand is compounded of gold and power; and all the enlightened and literary men in the kingdom rejoiced to prophecy a brilliant future for nationality and science.

The Royal sanction once obtained, and the President and Members duly elected, the Editor of the "Transylvanian Museum," M. Gabriel de Döbrenteï, who had exerted himself perseveringly in the cause of the national language, was unanimously chosen as Secretary to the Institution.

The efforts of thirty-seven years, and the universal voice of the kingdom were at length successful, and the Hungarian Academy was established.

The classes were divided into philology, philosophy, history, mathematics, jurisprudence, and natural history.

Annual prizes were declared for the best solution of questions in two of these sections, of one hundred ducats each; and others for original dramatic compositions, of one hundred ducats, to be awarded alternately for a tragedy and a comedy.

Once every year an account is published of the proceedings and labours of the Institution, which is communicated to the fifty-two counties and to all the free cities throughout the kingdom. The Committee were first convened during the Diet of 1830, at Poson, the establishment of the Academy having been already sanctioned by that of 1825–7, and all the requisite preparations having been completed in the interval through the energetic efforts of the Archduke-Palatine. This Committee elected as the President of the Academy Count Joseph Téléki, and as Vice-President Count Stephen Széchenyi, who have been re-elected from year to year, and still continue to act.

Count Téléki held his first ordinary meeting at Pesth, in February, 1831, from which period the arrangements of the Institution were put into operation.

I was fortunate enough to attend the great annual meeting for 1839, where the prizes for the past year were awarded, and new subjects proposed for competition. Several orations were delivered by the different members, but immeasurably the most eloquent was that of Baron Joseph Eötvös, who may be truly called the rising sun of Hungarian literature; and who has already distinguished himself by several compositions full of imagination and vigour, at an age when most other young men of his rank are absorbed by the pleasures of the world, and the gratification of their luxurious caprices.*

* The authority of which I have availed myself the most largely in compiling this slight history of the Magyar language is a work entitled "Annals of the Scientific Society of Hungary," which was published at Pesth in 1835, and for which the country is indebted to the talented zeal of M. de Döbrenteï, whose indefatigable and judicious researches have tended in no slight degree to rescue from oblivion the by-past literature of the Magyars.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF THE PUBLIC PRESS—PERIODICAL JOURNALS —THEIR NAMES AND EDITORS—BARON JOSEPH EÖTVÖS—PROJECTED IMPROVEMENTS—THE BARON VON JOSIKA—HUNGARIAN ANNUALS—PRINTING-OFFICES IN PESTH AND BUDA—AMOUNT OF WORKS PUBLISHED DURING ONE YEAR IN HUNGARY.

THE state of the public press in this country will doubtlessly be as great a surprise to many persons in England as it was to myself, when I learnt that there are at this time no less than ten political Journals in Hungary and Transylvania, each having a supplementary sheet dedicated to the Belles-Lettres, Arts, Sciences, or Commerce, according to the bearing of the print to which it is attached; and I was assured that were it not for the obstacles thrown in the way of periodical publications by the Government and Censorship, so great is the taste of the Magyars

for this description of reading that at least as many more would find a ready sale.

The two best political papers in the Hungarian language are The Messenger *(Hirnök)*, established in 1837, and edited by M. Joseph Orosz of Presburg, which appears twice a week, and is "got up" much better than any French or German Journal that I ever saw. Among its contributors are some of the first men in the kingdom, both as regards rank and talent;—and The Times *(Jelenkor)*, conducted by M. Helmeçzy, commenced in 1832, which enjoys a circulation of between three and four thousand; appearing at the same time, and in the same shape (folio) as the *Hirnök*. The Messenger is the organ of the Government party, and the Times that of the Liberals. It is asserted that Count Stephen Széchenyi is a frequent contributor to the *Jelenkor*.

The prices of all newspapers, journals, and reviews is very low, as none of them are taxed; they vary from twelve to twenty shillings a year.

After these two leading prints come the Sketches of Pesth and Buda *(Buda Rajzlatok)*,

commenced in 1839; News from Abroad and at Home *(Harai és Eülföldi Tudósitások)*, which has been in being since 1806; The Reporter from Transylvania *(Erdélyi Hirado)*, published at Clausenbourg, established in 1834, with two supplementary sheets; and the Transylvanian Gazette *(Erdélyi Hirlap)*.

The German Journals are the United Gazette from Pesth and Buda *(Vercinigte Ofner Pester Zeitung)*, which is now in its twenty-ninth year; and the Presburg Gazette *(Pressburger Zeitung)*. There was also a Latin Journal published at Presburg, but it has been lately discontinued; and one exists in the Wallachian language, called the Transylvanian Gazette *(Gazeta de Transilvania)*, commenced in the year 1837, at Brassó (Hermanstadt), which is said to be very ably conducted. The *Szion*, an Ecclesiastical Journal published at Buda, and now in its second year, completes the list of Hungarian political papers; and I have now only to enumerate the periodical prints dedicated to science and literature.

In the Magyar language they amount to nine. The Athenæum, a Magazine of Arts and Sciences,

conducted by Messrs. Schedel, Vörösmarty, and Bajza, commenced in 1836, and published in folio at Buda, every third day, with a weekly supplement. The Magazine of Science *(Tudemánytás)*, under the auspices of the Learned Society of Hungary, edited by Messrs. John Lucrenbacher and Paul Balogh d'Almas, commenced in 1833 at Buda, and produced monthly in octavo. The Scientific Miscellany *(Tudományos Gyüjtemény)*, with a supplement in octavo, established in 1816. The Polytechnical, Agricultural, and Commercial Journal, *(Ismertetö Oszmüvésretben Gardaságban, és Kerestedésben,)* edited by M. Martin Borsos at Buda, twice a week in quarto. The Ecclesiastical Magazine *(Egyhári Tar)*, in octavo, which having reached its thirteenth number, has just lost its very talented editor, M. Isidor Guzmics, the Abbé of Baronybél. The Medical Magazine *(Orvosi Tar)* commenced in 1837 a new series, and is edited and published by Messrs. Bugát and Flor. The Legal Essayist *(Themis)* is a new speculation of which only three numbers have yet appeared; it is in octavo, and edited by M. Ladislaus Szalay. The Transylvanian Ecclesiastical Magazine *(Erdelyi prédicatón Tar)*,

conducted by M. Joseph Salamon at Clausenbourg. The Weekly Magazine of Useful Knowledge and Technology *(Heti Lapok, Mütudomány' es Egyéb Hasznos Ismererek' Terjéntésére)*, produced at Eger (Erlau) and edited by the publisher M. John Joó, with engravings; and lastly, the Novelist *(Regélö)* and National Artist *(Honmüvést)* conducted by M. Gabriel Mátray, illustrated with coloured prints.

In German there are the *Pester Tageblatt*, a daily Journal of Arts, Science, and Literature, commenced in 1837, and edited by Dr. Saphir; The Mirror of Art, Elegance, and Fashion *(Der Speigel für Kunst, Elegant, und Mode)*, a weekly miscellany with coloured plates, which has already existed eleven years; the Pesth Sheet of Information and Literature, (by Imperial and Royal Authority,) *Pester K. K. priv. Kundschafos- und Auctions Blatt*, in quarto, twice a week; The Transylvanian, a periodical Journal, edited by Messrs. Benigni and Neugeboren at Brasso, in octavo, now in its third volume; The Weekly Sheet of Transylvania *(Das Seibentruger Horhenblatt)*, combining amusement and instruction,

published in Kronstadt, in quarto; and in Wallachian the Sunday Sheet *(Foca Duminake)*, edited by M. John Baxák, which is a compilation of articles from other Journals, and translated passages from foreign prints; illustrated by wood-cuts, and first published at Brasso in 1837.

With the new year will commence two other Journals in the Hungarian language, The Buda-Pesth Review *(Buda-Pesti Szemle)*, under the Editorship of the highly-gifted Baron Joseph Eötvös, whose name must be familiar to many of the *haut ton* in England, not so well remembered from his being the son of the Lord High Treasurer of Hungary, as for the many amiable and estimable qualities of its possessor; assisted by Messrs. Lukács, Szalay, and Trefort; and established for the benefit of M. Heckenast the bookseller, whose losses during the inundation of 1838 were very serious, and who is held in such estimation by the literati of his country that all the contributions to this review, which is to be modelled on "the Quarterly," are to be furnished gratuitously by the most talented writers of his

nation. The title of the other projected publication I have not learnt; but the names of its co-editors, Messrs. Gabriel de Karinczy and Louis Kushy, are considered to be a sufficient guarantee both for its talent and respectability.

Great improvements are also promised in the appearance of the several existing Journals, for which new types have been cast; but I think that I have already given a sufficiently favourable idea of the periodical press of Hungary to convince my readers that there is no mental lethargy at present in the country.

To my list of literary acquaintance I have lately added the Baron von Josika, the Walter Scott of Hungary; whose admirable romances, based on the history of his nation, are enjoying a well-merited popularity. Mild, gentlemanly, and courteous, M. von Josika is an agreeable companion as well as a talented writer; and I hope that we shall ere long become familiar with his works in England through the medium of a translator, for they will do more towards affording a perfect idea of the customs of his interesting country, and teaching the rest of Europe to appreciate it

rightly, than all the books of all the tourists who do or may undertake to "catch the living manners as they rise."

The Annuals, both in the Hungarian and German languages, are beautifully printed, and the embellishments are engraved in many cases by native artists. Bookbinding is carried to great perfection; and the types used for all works of price or general interest are extremely clear and perfect; the paper employed of excellent quality; and the whole put together in a style which would not disgrace a first-rate London bookseller.

There are three printing-offices in Pesth. The most considerable is that of Messrs. Trattner and Karolyi, which works sixteen presses, and consumes annually from fifteen to sixteen thousand reams of paper. The second, that of M. Landerer, employs ten presses, between forty and fifty workmen, and consumes about six thousand reams of paper. The last, conducted by M. Beimel, consists of eight presses worked by twenty-eight or thirty individuals, and employs about three thousand five hundred reams of paper.

At Buda there are only two printing establish-

ments; but that of the Royal University is on a large scale, occupying one hundred and twenty-four persons, working twenty-four presses, and consuming annually from fifteen to eighteen thousand reams of paper; while that of Messrs. Gyurján and Bagó comprises six presses, and yearly employs twenty individuals, and five thousand reams of paper.

It now only remains for me to give the amount of works published in Hungary during the year 1838; that of the last twelvemonth I was unable to obtain correctly, and shall consequently omit altogether. The following table will show at once their nature, and the languages in which they were written.

	SUBJECT OF THE WORK.	Hungarian.	Latin.	German.	Sclavonic.	Servian.	Wallachian.	Croatian.	Hebrew.	TOTAL.
1	Gazettes and Journals . .	18	1	7	1	0	2	0	0	29
2	Theological Sermons and Monastic Books . .	49	9	16	8	0	2	0	4	88
3	Philosophical . . .	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	8
4	Legal	7	6	2	2	0	0	0	0	17
5	Historical and Biographical .	5	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	12
6	Antiquarian	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
7	Geographical, Voyages and Statistics . . .	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
8	Arithmetical and Mathematical	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
9	Physics	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10	Medical (principally Academical Dissertations . .	14	39	6	1	0	0	0	0	60
11	Agricultural	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
12	Commercial . . .	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
13	Philological	6	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	16
14	Scholastic	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
15	Belles-Lettres . . .	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
16	Belletristique . . .	20	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	21
17	Works of Fancy . . .	64	20	26	8	1	1	0	1	121
18	Controversial, Calendars, and Almanacs . . .	16	14	16	3	0	0	1	0	50
	Total . .	221	99	84	25	2	6	1	5	443

CHAPTER VII.

ANTIQUITY OF BUDA—AQUINCUM—ROMAN REMAINS—INVASION OF THE HUNS — FOUNDATION OF THE CAPITAL — FORTRESS-PALACE — ANCIENT NAMES OF BUDA—PALACE OF LOUIS THE GREAT—THE CZONKA-TORONY — ITS DESTRUCTION BY THE DUKE OF LORRAINE — THE BOHEMIAN BRIGANDS — LADISLAUS HUNYADI — A STORMY ARGUMENT — STATE-PRISON—THE BARON LAWRENCE ZAY — CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS FAMILY—THE DOMINICAN TOWER.

THE exact period of the occupation of Hungary by the Romans has never been ascertained, and consequently remains mere matter of inference and conjecture. The only fact relating to the inhabitation of that extraordinary people, for whom the world seemed not too vast an empire, consists in the knowledge that during the reign of Julius Cæsar they founded several colonies on the banks of the Danube, and that their rule existed until the commencement of the fourth century.

In order to maintain and increase their influence over the aboriginal inhabitants, they began under Claudius to form establishments on a grand scale, and to erect forts on the shores of the mighty stream which had probably contributed in a great degree to induce their sojourn in the smiling country that it traversed.

Aquincum, or Acineum, of which the ruins are now covered by the houses of the suburb known as Alt-Ofen, or Old Buda, was one of these. It appears that the name of the Roman town Aquineum was derived from *aquæ quinque*—five sources of mineral water still existing at Buda in the neighbourhood of the ruins. The Island of Alt-Ofen (lying close to the Margaret Island) also formed a portion of the original town, the small arm of the Danube which now separates it from the land not having then existed, as is satisfactorily proved by the remains of baths and other buildings which are yet to be seen there.

The extent of the city admits the belief that its population must have been considerable; the two Roman Legions who were stationed there

having of themselves amounted to thirteen thousand men; and traces of an Amphitheatre having been discovered capable of containing eight or ten thousand persons; as well as several spacious baths, and the ruins of an aqueduct, which had evidently served to convey the hot springs into the city.

Some Antiquaries assert that Aquincum was the residence of Attila, and seek to strengthen their argument by the fact that a street in Alt-Ofen still bears his name; while others state that Charlemagne built there a magnificent church. All this is, however, purely apocryphal, and there now exists no vestige of either to attest even the probability of the position; indeed, in its present state, the existence of the ancient Aquincum can be traced only by the eye of an Antiquary.

Roman remains, such as urns, mosaics, busts, and fragments of architecture, are occasionally found by accident; but as yet no scientific attempt has been made to collect these precious remnants of buried ages.

The fourth century was fatal to the Romans, and to the germs of civilization which they had

begun to produce in the country; for the Huns, and other rude tribes who were wandering in search of a more genial sky and a richer soil, towards the west and south, devastated the land as they swept through it, destroying the infant establishments of the Romans, and making all a waste.

In the ninth century Hungary was inhabited and governed by the Sclavonic tribes; but nothing certain is known on the subject of the metropolitan city, until the occupation of the Conquering Magyars, whose historians make no mention of the rock on which Buda is now built as an inhabited site until the reign of Bela the Fourth, although many traces yet exist of its previous occupancy by the Romans; and the coins, sarcophagi, and inscriptions still constantly discovered here also, warrant the conclusion that this warlike people dwelt not only in the ancient Aquincum but also on the rock itself.

Its commanding position would, indeed, at once lead to this deduction, even had positive proof of the fact been wanting; as it was not probable that such admirable tacticians as the

Romans would omit to fortify so salient a point as that now occupied by the fortress-palace of Buda; possessing, as it did, according to the art of war in those days, all the requisites of a stronghold.

The multitude of urns, lamps, lachrymatories, bracelets, agricultural implements and household utensils, as well as offensive weapons, which have from time to time been found within the walls of the fort, do not indeed permit a doubt of its Roman occupancy; and in the Itinerary of Antoninus Pius it may moreover be distinctly seen that the Emperor passed a night upon the rock of Buda.

The most ancient name of Buda (during the Arpádian dynasty) was *Mans Pesthiensis;* but it afterwards received the appellation of Ofen (a stove) from the warm springs which gush from the circumjacent mountains; or, according to Stephen von Sandor, from the many lime-kilns in its neighbourhood: while a Roman landmark standing about fifty paces from the present bridge leaves no doubt that the residence of that people at Ofen was induced in a great degree by the

presence of these salubrious and abundant springs. (*Thermæ.*)

In the reign of Bela IV., when the city was increasing in size and importance, the Hungarians called it Budavár, in order to extinguish the name of Etzelburg or Ethelvar which it had received from the German Colonists whom Bela invited to settle there; and to whom he gave the patronage of the parochial church of St. Mary of the Assumption, which he had caused to be erected.

There is no affinity whatever between the German name Ofen, and the Latin name Buda.

In 1244 Buda became a Royal free town; and Louis the Great who reigned from 1342 to 1382 built the first palace there, of which the ruins still exist in the suburbs of Alt-Ofen near those of the old Roman city. Sigismund commenced another of great magnitude upon the rock itself, and surrounded it by immense gardens and spacious courts; in one of which latter he is believed to have held the famous tournaments which collected at Buda much of the European chivalry.

When Sigismund removed his court thither

he united the districts of Pesth and Pilish; and under the Emperor Leopold I. the county of Solt ratified the union. The first Supreme Count of these condensed districts was the Palatine Francis Wesselényi, an ancestor of the present celebrated state-criminal.

It was the same King who laid the foundation, and commenced building within the precincts of the palace, the ill-famed square edifice, known as the *Czonka-Torony*, or Mutilated Tower, from the fact of its never having been finished. It is said to have been of great circumference, the main tower enclosing six lesser ones; but the death of Sigismund prevented its completion.

In the year 1686, this pile, which had for centuries served as a state prison, and been the arena of the myriad cruelties of despotic tyranny, was reduced to a heap of ruins by the gallant Duke of Lorraine; nor does a vestige of it now exist. Numerous subterranean passages, whose mazes were familiar only to a few individuals, are said to have led to it from various points; and while it still reared its ill-omened and imperfect summit above the neighbouring

buildings it was regarded with terror and suspicion by all ranks of citizens.

There is record that in this tower were confined, in 1464, three hundred of the companions of the Hussite Giszkra (or Ziska), then called the *Bratriken Zsebraken*, or Bohemian Brigands, and two hundred women who were made prisoners by Stephen Báthori at Kosztolan, or in their own castles by the other Generals of Matthias Corvinus; and subsequently, by order of the Chief of the Army Kinizsa, (or, as some assert, Zobor,) thrown into the Danube to the number of about two hundred.

The implacable enemy of the Hunyadi family incarcerated Ladislaus Hunyadi in this tower, whence the unfortunate hero was conducted to the square of the fortress, and there decapitated by order of the King.

Sigismund caused thirty-two nobles (among whom was the Palatine Konth de Hedervár) to be shut up in this same tower previous to their being ignominiously beheaded in St. George's Square, opposite to the present Arsenal. The traitor Fink who sought to deliver up the Castle

of Buda to Hassan Aga, the Pasha of Stuhlweissenburg (Alba Regia), was also confined here; as well as Count George Frangipan, by order of Louis II., for the extraordinary crime of having audaciously given a box on the ear to the reverend Archbishop of Estergam, and violently pulled his beard, in consequence of a difference of opinion maintained during a very stormy argument.

A Bohemian historian asserts that Victorin, the son of George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, was held captive here; and under Uladislaus II. all those who carried their complaints to Rome instead of appealing to the courts of the kingdom, were placed in the *Czonka-Torony*, as Hungary did not recognise the authority of the Papal See; and thus those who flung themselves on the protection of the Pope, be their plea what it might, whether lay or ecclesiastic, were imprisoned as traitors.

Under Soliman, the Turks converted this tower into a state prison for all their Magyar captives of rank; and among many others taken in 1590, and transferred to this gloomy dungeon, was the

85041

Baron Lawrence Zay, who was made captive in a skirmish near Ersekújvár (Neuhäusel) then called Ujvár, by Ali Aga, and who languished within its walls until 1598, when his relatives ultimately paid his ransom, and delivered him from Moslem thrall.

The original letters which passed between the captive Baron and his family on the subject of his release are still in existence; and were communicated by Charles Zay his descendant, to M. de Döbrenteï, when that gentleman was engaged in the compilation of his Hungarian antiquities under the sanction and authority of the University.

In a conversation which I had on one occasion with the amiable antiquarian, he enlarged on the extreme interest of these letters, as tending to afford an admirable picture of the times, and a no less striking lesson on the nature of the human heart; and although they are yet inedited (the volume which will contain them not having been completed) he very kindly translated and placed them at my disposal, in order that I might invest the *Czonka-Torony* with a real and individual interest.

Lawrence Zay was the son of the Governor of Upper Hungary, a man illustrious both by his talents and his bravery, who was Ambassador at Constantinople, and was created Baron by Ferdinand I. in 1560. He was immensely wealthy, his landed property extending over sixteen counties; and being one of the leading partisans of the reformation, he zealously propagated its tenets over a great portion of the country; but in order fully to understand the position of the captive of the *Czonka-Torony* it will be necessary to mention not only the father but likewise his two wives and his other children.

The first wife of the Baron Francis was Barbara Bánffy de Gara, and the second was Catherine Mindszenti. The former became the mother of six sons; Peter, John, Nicholas, Lawrence, Andrew, and Ladislaus; and three daughters, one of whom was named Madelaine. The Count Charles Zay, to whom allusion has already been made, is descended from the younger of these brothers, the other five having died without heirs. There is no mention of a second family.

The letters are numerous, and in several cases

lengthy, I shall therefore merely avail myself of the most essential, and even of those partially.

In 1590 the Baroness Madelaine Zay writes to the Baron Andrew a nervous and affecting account of the capture of their brother by the Pagans; and acquaints him that she has received information of his having been flung into a noisome dungeon, and loaded with heavy chains.

In 1591 Andrew himself addresses his brother Peter on the same subject; coldly lamenting that he cannot quit his military duties to work out the emancipation of the prisoner, and recommending this fraternal task to Peter as one of undeniable importance. In laying aside this letter the reader at once feels that the chained and coerced captive has little hope from the exertions of Andrew.

In 1592 a certain Babindaly writes in his turn to Peter to inform him that Andrew has in his turn fallen into the hands of the Turks.

In 1592 Francis Topos, a General of Cavalry, addresses from Ujvár to his brother-in-law Peter Zay, a letter in which occur these words: "Being yourself sickly, you should urge your re-

latives to make greater exertions to redeem Andrew."

The business-like and calculating tone of all these communications is sickening, until Madelaine again appears among the actors in this melancholy drama, as the correspondent of her brother Peter, and redeems by her woman-heart and tender energy the selfishness of the family: "My dear brother!" she writes: "Oh, that it had pleased God to permit that you had sent me better tidings of my two lost brothers, whom our mother brought into the world only to become the victims of pagan barter. While one was endeavouring to recover his liberty, another lost it. Alas! where are those loving and joyous youths?—I shall perhaps never look upon them again. With regard to poor Lawrence, there shall be nothing wanting on our part to work out his redemption."

But this labour of love appears to have progressed slowly: the estates of the captive Baron were managed by his brothers, and the proceeds seem to have been either defectively applied or wholly insufficient; certain it is that his imprison-

ment continued; and that time brought with it no prospect of release, save the false hope which grew out of a letter written on the anniversary of St. Bartholomew in the same year, by John Monáky to the Baron Peter, wherein he states: "I have just returned from a conference with Rakoczy,* who has made several Turkish prisoners, and particularly one of high rank, whom I could purchase of him, and for whom your brother Lawrence might be exchanged; and he will concede this the more readily that his followers have taken several other men of still greater reputation among the pagans. You can also speak to Francis Balasa, who has some Turkish prisoners to dispose of, through whom Lawrence might be ransomed."

This chivalrous slave-barter did not, however, succeed in the case of the Magyar Baron; for although we find by a letter of Catherine Mindszenti that her son-in-law Andrew was set at liberty in 1592, the next manuscript is written by the miserable Lawrence himself in 1597, dated from the

* Sigismund Rakoczy, Treasurer and Paymaster in Chief of Upper Hungary.

Czonka-Torony, and addressed to his mother-in-law, a widow for the second time. To her he says: "I have asked of Pálffy* that he would cede a Turkish prisoner as my ransom; he has willingly consented, and you have now only to come to an understanding with him. I beseech you then, in conjunction with my brothers Peter and Andrew, to mortgage as much land as will raise five thousand florins. Reflect, my mother, on the length of my captivity; take pity on me; for I should better love to die than to live on as I am doing now. You have been indulgent to all your sons; do not abandon me, that so I may still hope to escape from the torments of this hell."

On the same day he writes to his brother Andrew: "Pálffy," he says; "has two Turkish prisoners; one is Nassouf Aga, and the other Méhémet Csausz; he will sell them both, and by them I may be ransomed. Delay not, or I am lost, for my master is about to leave Buda. For the love of God, my good brother, terminate my captivity. They will exchange me for Turkish

* Captain in Chief of the Circle beyond the Danube, and resident at Ujvár.

prisoners, or even for broad-cloth. Had you exerted yourself, and done as I requested from the first, I should long ere this have been a free man."

This letter is followed by one from George Fancsy, a friend of the family, to the Baron Peter, in which he indignantly upbraids him for his delay in the liberation of his brother; and dated only seven days later is another from the prisoner himself, evidently written in great agony of mind, and containing the following passages: "I have learnt from your letter, and also from that of James Deák, that you have purchased from Pálffy a Turkish prisoner valued at six thousand florins. Delay not, for my master Ali Aga has sworn to put me on board a vessel, and to send me to Constantinople. God help me if he indeed lose patience! Within this very hour he has threatened me with the whip. Send the Turkish prisoners by a third person, for your health will not enable you to support the journey hither. Now indeed do I require kind relatives and loving friends. If God wills, he can deliver me; (but if he destines me to a longer endurance of misery, His holy will be done!)

Surely *He* has visited me with this affliction, for if my brother Andrew had acted consistently the Almighty would have long since set me free; but I acknowledge that my sins towards God merit even a deeper retribution than this!"

Despite this conviction, however, the prisoner seems in the following month to have felt all the bitterness of despair coupled with the irritation of disappointed affection and blighted trust: "I thank you:" he writes to Peter; "for the three hundred and eighty-four ducats which you have sent towards my deliverance. Thank God also, that on sight of the money they consented to abate two thousand florins of my ransom. My master Ali is anxious to go, and to take me with him to Constantinople, but with this new prospect he has consented to delay his departure for twenty days. I still require three thousand ducats, or four thousand eight hundred florins. If you do not send them we are lost, I, and those who brought the money. I declare before Heaven that I have several times been near death, but I shrink from the sin of suicide."

In the course of the next month he follows up

the melancholy declaration of his despair by a second letter to the same brother, in whose abruptness it is easy to read the painful progress of his wretchedness. "I have yet fifteen days—" he commences: "Send me the money. If my captivity does not end now, God only knows when it may terminate. I do not ask you to give me the property of others. Give me my own. When I have no longer a rood of land trouble yourselves no more about me."

At the end of a few days in a calmer mood he writes again: "Had I known that you only delayed my deliverance I would not have pained you. My master has now left me in the charge of Bégler Bey. Send me the money. Speak to Pálffy that he may write to the Judges of Buda and Pesth an imperative letter, in order that they may come and take me away. If all my other relatives abandon me, at least my brother should be true."

And on the 1st of April an outgush of reproach to his sister Madelaine is thus worded: "If God regards not my suffering more than you do, I must perish here. Oh, my sweet and loving sis-

ter, do not abandon me—Oh, do not abandon me, I beseech you by the power of God. When the sum required for my ransom was heavier, your good-will was beyond doubt; and yet now when I possess a thousand ducats I must perish, and the money with me. The small portion of my property that remains had better be yours than another's. What you advance for me I will repay even if I beg until my death. I have written several letters to you, but I have received no answer to any. Would to God that I had been your swineherd rather than your brother! May God grant you health!

"Given at Buda from the *Czonka-Torony*, from the outworn captive bowed down by misery, and your poor servant."

This day seems to have been one of irritation and bitterness to the despairing prisoner, for two other letters bearing the same date and breathing the same spirit, are among the manuscripts: the first is jointly addressed to his brothers Andrew and Peter: "I have written to you," he says; "to dispose of the little property which I yet have left; and should the sum that it produces prove

insufficient to make up my ransom, lend me the remainder, and in order to repay you I will ask charity until my death. If you will do nothing for me, I must perish here, and my money with me. I had far better have been your swineherd than your relation.

"From the Tower of Buda, and the hand of the wretched and worn-out captive, Lawrence Zay."

Towards his brother-in-law Nicholas Sándorfy, he takes a sterner and more imperious position. The gradual working of his mind may be traced from the wailing of self-pity which mingles with the reproaches addressed to his sister Madelaine, through the expostulatory detail given to his brothers, up to the dry, terse, almost defying tone in which he writes: "I must then perish here—I, and my gold. By the power of God I beseech you to have more regard both to Him, and to my helpless situation. My master Ali Aga is gone to Constantinople. He has left me in the hands of Bégler Bey. If, Sir, my deliverance is not now effected, God knows whether it ever will be. Bégler Bey desires that you will send him a thousand ducats. If you do not assist me I must

die here. Better had it been for me to have been your slave for my whole life than to have perished so miserably. Why was I not your swineherd rather than your relative! May God soften your heart towards me! May God grant you health!

"From the Tower of Buda, and the world-abandoned slave, your poor servant and brother."

These are the last melancholy letters of the collection; for shortly after they were written the relatives of the Baron mortgaged a portion of their estates, and completed his ransom-money. It would appear, from the fact of his repeating the same sentences three times over, that he had reason to believe that all his letters did not reach their destination; and it is only charitable to infer that such was the fact; for although at that period Hungary had become almost bankrupt in specie, and that six thousand florins were then of as much importance as sixty or eighty thousand in our own times, still the great wealth of the family of Zay forbids the belief that they could not sooner have liberated their unhappy relative had they proceeded with more energy.

The contract of sale, by which his own estates

were disposed of in furtherance of his ransom, is still in existence, and bears date 1597.

There is still shown at Buda, under the name of the *Czonka-Torony*, the hoar ruin of a quadrangular tower situated between the Royal Hungarian Chamber, and the Theological Schools; but travellers must not give credence to the *ciceroni* who thus seek to delude them; as this remain is merely a fragment of what was once a Dominican Convent, and served as a place of imprisonment for the refractory monks.

CHAPTER VIII.

MATTHIAS CORVINUS—CORVINIAN LIBRARY — HYPERBOLICAL PRAISE — DISPERSION OF THE CORVINIAN MSS.—ANDREW HESS—RETROGRESSION OF THE KINGDOM AFTER THE DEATH OF CORVINUS — PAROCHIAL CHURCH — LADISLAUS' KITCHEN — LOUIS II. — DISSEMINATION OF LUTHERAN PRINCIPLES — STORMY MEETING OF THE STATES—PLUNDER OF THE JEWS—FORTUNATUS — A ROYAL FLEET — THE WARNING — ADVANCE OF SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT — OCCUPANCY OF BUDA BY KING FERDINAND—THE PLAGUE —TREASON—TURKISH GARRISON IN BUDA—BLOCKADES OF THE CITY—VICTORY OF LORRAINE—STATE OF THE RECOVERED CITY — TREASURE-SHIPS — SUPREMACY OF THE JEWS—RÁKÓCZY—REPAIRS OF THE FORTIFICATIONS—HUNGARIAN HERCULES—ARRIVAL OF MARIA THERESA AT BUDA — THE UNIVERSITY — THE SISTER-CITY.

MATTHIAS CORVINUS on his accession (1458) enlarged and beautified the palace of Sigismund, far outrunning in his magnificence of execution the original intention of his predecessor. So vast, indeed, did the regal pile ultimately become, that

its dependent offices and buildings extended over a great portion of the rock; and the two gates known as that of the Albe Royal, and the Vizi-Kapu (called by the Turks the Gate of Stamboul), were both entrances to the Imperial Palace.

The gardens are asserted to have stretched from the Kaiser-bad (a bathing establishment in a Vienna-ward suburb of Buda) as far as a beautiful spot called *Szép Juhaszné*, or the Fair Shepherdess, about three English miles from the city among the mountains; and in these pleasure-grounds he is fabled to have kept eight tame lions, which all died upon the same day that he himself expired at Vienna!

On the riverward side of the edifice were stairs and terraces of porphyry, ornamented with bronze statues, among which the group representing the Combat of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ was the most remarkable. In the principal hall stood three colossal figures, of which one represented himself, leaning pensively upon his lance with his shield lying beside him; the second was his father; and the third his brother Ladislaus, who was decapitated.

In 1473 a printing-press was established at Buda by the Abbé of the Cathedral; (only twenty-three years after the art of printing was discovered;) and it is somewhat startling to learn that literature was at a much higher pitch during this reign in Hungary than in England.

The celebrated library of Corvinus has been the subject of learned controversy all over Europe; and there is little doubt that the assertion of its having contained fifty thousand volumes is an exaggerated statement, while it is equally certain that it must have been of extraordinary and magnificent extent for the period, it being on unquestionable record that Matthias kept thirty secretaries constantly employed in copying all the manuscripts which either by courtesy or capture fell into his hands; while he also encouraged original writers, who among other compositions added more than one record of his own reign to the regal library, which occupied two wings, of which St. John's church formed the centre; one being filled with Latin and the other with Greek works.

Brassican, who visited this library, has thus

written on the subject. "I have seen all these books. Books do I call them? So many volumes, so many treasures did I contemplate there. Immortal gods! who can believe what I felt at such a spectacle! I seemed to myself to be, not in a library, but in the bosom of Jupiter himself!"

But, leaving Brassican in the clouds, and descending myself once more to earth, it may afford some idea of the real extent of the Corvinian library to learn that it was maintained at an annual cost of 33,000 florins in gold, an immense sum in those days; and that, independently of the number of manuscripts carried away or destroyed by the Turks, those stolen by Marsiglia and conveyed to Bologna after the siege, and the few which still remain in the libraries of Vienna and Pesth, it is known that thousands were sold by the successor of Matthias; and hundreds given to foreign ministers in return for the offerings of their sovereigns, by whom they were removed to their own courts.

It was on the invitation of Matthias that the first printer established himself at Buda; he was

a Venetian by birth, named Andrew Hess; and during the same reign there also lived in the city a famous bookseller, one Theobald Fegar von Kirchheim.

Under the rule of this monarch Buda attained to its greatest splendour; but after his death all the kingdom retrograded in an extreme degree, and the metropolitan city suffered even more than the provinces.

In the Garrison Church within the fortress walls, lies buried Andrew III., the last descendant of the race of Arpád, who was interred there in 1301;* and under the same holy roof the Em-

* This monarch succeeded Ladislaus IV. surnamed "the Cumanian," by reason of his predilection for that nation, who died childless; and upon whose death there existed no other scion of the race of Arpád save Andrew, called "the Venetian", from his birthplace. His father was Stephen, a posthumous son of Andrew II., the giver of the *Bulla Aurea*, and stepbrother to Bela IV.

His mother (Catherina Tomasina Maurocena,) was the daughter of a Patrician of Venice, where her son was born; but aware that Ladislaus was childless Andrew passed into Hungary in the year 1285, and resided at the court of his royal cousin, until the death of this latter left the throne vacant for his more worthy kinsman, whose destiny it was to close the Arpádian line.

peror Francis I. was crowned King of Hungary in 1792.

The Parochial Church of the Assumption, which was built by Bela the Fourth, was considerably enlarged by Corvinus. Its gothic arches are supported by twelve single columns, which are said to be hollow; but as a public edifice it is rather remarkable from the splendour of its general arrangements than for any particular detail. Midway of the tower (the upper portion of which was carried away during the siege of 1686) are still to be seen the arms of Hungary and those of the Hunyadis, emblazoned on a capacious shield.

Near the present arsenal the bones of the first consort of Corvinus were exhumed. She was the daughter of George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia.

Ladislaus II., surnamed *Dobshé*, or "Well," from his habit of constantly repeating this word in his discourse, lived in such extreme penury that very frequently there was no food in the royal kitchen, and the servants were compelled to provide the King's table from the public markets. Hence, where there is a scant feast, the

Hungarians call it to this day *Latzi Konyha*, Ladislaus' Kitchen.

This monarch made his entry into Buda on the 9th of August, 1496, in the sixth year of his reign, but he was weak and cowardly, and quite unable to suppress the insolence of his ambitious aristocracy; while the whole country became the theatre of plunder and misrule.

Hence it was that he suffered so severely from want of funds that he was sometimes unable even to pay the wages of his own domestics. The scientific establishments founded by Corvinus were neglected, the most precious contents of his library stolen, and even sold, and the town left without resources to maintain its public buildings, or to increase its importance.

The reign of Louis II. resembled that of his father, with the baneful addition of increased and more imminent national danger. It was the period of the reformation; and the Marquis of Brandebourg (Grand Master to the King) and the Treasurer Thursó were so devoted to the new doctrine that through their influence Protestant priests and

professors arrived at Buda to disseminate the principles of Luther.

In 1525 the States held a very stormy Diet at Buda, in the Church of St. John, which was followed by a popular rising occasioned by the deliverance of the Jewish Sub-Treasurer *Szerenesés* (commonly called Fortunatus), who had been imprisoned for fraud, but whom the dependent habits and crying necessities of the weak and helpless monarch induced him to liberate.

On the day which succeeded the meeting, the people, enraged beyond endurance at the grasping and insolent usury of the Budan Jews, many of whom were possessed of immense wealth, while the King and his Court were alike in a condition of pauperism degrading to the nation, rose in a body; and after having pillaged the houses of the Counts Fugger and Hardek, and that of the Marquis of Brandebourg, all of whom had rendered themselves obnoxious to the lower classes, proceeded to the Jews' quarter, (who at that period inhabited the shore of the Danube from the point of the present bridge to the great barrack under

the Blocksberg, and one street in the fortress;) broke into their dwellings, and swept away everything portable; continuing their work of ruin until they were ultimately attacked by the King's body-guard in the narrow streets and lanes of the city, and with great difficulty dispersed; which dispersion was not effected, however, until the Jews' quarter was one heap of desolation.

The house of Fortunatus is still to be seen.

It is a singular fact that while the wealth of the Jews rendered them hateful to the people, Louis had only a single vessel upon the Danube, and even that one belonged to the Venetians!

Its purpose was the conveyance of ammunition to the fortress of Belgrade; but the King was sometimes unable to profit by its presence, because the Royal treasury did not contain fifty florins, the sum required for the freightage. A pretty specimen of the regality of the "good old times"!

Before the fatal battle of Mohacs, in 1526, which sealed the destinies of Hungary, there came to the gates of Buda (relates Istvánfy) a strange dwarfish creature, half man, half demon, who

called out perpetually with a loud voice upon the King, bidding him come forth, for that he had somewhat to say to him which brooked no delay in the messenger. The guards repulsed him in vain; for as they drove him back he only shrieked out more loudly the name of Louis; until at length the monarch being informed of his pertinacity, desired one of his nobles to proceed to the gates of the fortress, properly attended, and to represent himself as the King to the elfish creature who had dared to match his single will against that of the garrison.

The courtier fulfilled his mission; but the dwarf laughed him to scorn when he appeared, and bade him tell his proud master who had refused to hold parley with a stranger, that he had come there to give him warning, but that now he should depart, leaving only a prophecy behind him—that in one month from that time King Louis should have exchanged his armour for a shroud of such dimensions as would suffice to contain an army!

The anecdote supplied many a jest to the facetious nobles; but nevertheless, within four weeks

of the demon-visit, Louis was suffocated in a morass on his retreat from that fearfully-celebrated battle.

After the defeat of Mohacs, Solyman the Magnificent advanced to Buda, intestine commotion favouring his progress through the vexed and suffering country, and took the city without resistance, putting all to fire and sword; but being compelled by the troubles which just then broke out in Asia to turn the terror of his arms in another direction, he vacated Hungary, after having reduced two hundred thousand men to slavery, among whom were a great portion of the population of Buda.

It is not my intention to enter further into the history of the times than may be necessary to explain the vicissitudes through which the city itself has passed. Suffice it, therefore, that about two months after these disasters, Buda was almost deserted, until Zápolya succeeded in persuading the fugitives to return to their devastated dwellings.

In the year 1527, King Ferdinand * occupied

* Also Emperor of Germany, in whose reign Transylvania first became an independent principality.

Buda, which was at that time ravaged by the plague—the fearful legacy of its Moslem visitors! but in 1529, Solyman, declared the ally and protector of Zápolya, once more arrived before Buda with an immense army; and by the treason of the garrison the town was taken, and many of the inhabitants put to death for having given it up to Ferdinand, who shortly afterwards besieged it; but owing to the zeal and vigilance of the commandant Nadásdy, and the bravery of the citizens, the Imperial army were routed; and as a recompense for their loyalty the inhabitants were exempted from all imposts.

After the death of Zápolya, his Queen Isabella pledged herself to Ferdinand to give up to him not only the capital but the whole kingdom under certain conditions; upon which understanding he again attacked Buda in 1541.

The party that favoured Ferdinand promised General Révay to admit him by night into the fortress; but Roggendorf, the General-in-Chief, jealous of the Hungarian leader, placed himself and his German cuirassiers at the gate by which the native troops were to enter. The officer of the

guard having seen the Germans march into the fortress, closed the gates, and put all within them to the sword..

The party of Zápolya nevertheless feared their inability to resist successfully the Imperial arms, and consequently appealed once more to the Turks for aid; Ferdinand was repulsed; and on the 2nd of September 1541, the city was given over to the Infidels; the celebrated Jurisconsult Verböczy being appointed Cadi or Judge of the Christian population.

Solyman garrisoned Buda with twelve thousand Janissaries, possessed himself of the person of the infant sovereign John Sigismund Zápolya, and reduced the whole of Hungary comprised within the rivers Raab and Theiss, into a Turkish province. During his tenures Buda became second only to Constantinople in rank and importance as a Moslem city; but to the Christians it was but one long period of human suffering. The churches were converted into mosques, or degraded to still viler uses; the plague, contagions, and fires were frequent; but the demoralization which succeeded was even more deplorable.

When Queen Isabella, the mother of the Royal infant, was compelled to quit Buda, she scratched on a wall of the room which she was accustomed to occupy the sentence: *Isabella Regina hic fata tulent.*

The Emperor blockaded the city successively in 1542, 1598, 1599, and 1602, but always without success; and Buda itself, as well as two thirds of the kingdom, remained under the sway of the Crescent for more than a century; when it was recaptured under Lorraine in 1686. The Turks did not, however, resign their conquest without a struggle, in which their military leader, Kara Mustapha, displayed as much prudence as bravery. Thousands of the Christian besiegers were blown into the air by the springing of the various mines, as well as cut off by the furious sallies of the besieged, which were led on with a desperation only to be explained by the harassing threats which constantly reached the Pasha from Constantinople, and which rendered him eventually indifferent whether he perished before the walls of Buda or under the bowstring of the Sultan.

A bomb, thrown into the citadel by Lorraine's

artillery, fired the powder-magazine, and entirely destroyed the Corvinian palace; the Turkish garrison was reduced to three hundred men; and Kara Mustapha himself lay dying unaided among a heap of slain, whose putrid bodies poisoned the air, and rendered it impossible for the wretched Moslems who yet survived to bury their dead. The whole citadel was one shapeless ruin; the palace a heap of stones; and when the Christians took possession of their recovered stronghold, only two churches, those of the Assumption and St. John the Evangelist, remained standing, and the tower of the Dominican Convent;* all the other buildings were razed to the ground.

The degree to which the city was devastated will be best understood, however, by a reference to the ordonnance of Leopold I. to the Hungarian Chamber of Finance, dated September 2, 1686, in which, merely to secure lodging for the garrison, he commands that timber for the construction of huts shall be floated down the Danube.†

* Now often shown to strangers as the remains of the Czonka-Torony.

† In 1715 the Baron Régal, who was military command-

Sixteen thousand Turks perished during the siege, but they were partially revenged by one of their faith; who devoting himself to this purpose with a boldness worthy of a better cause, concealed himself among the ruins until he had poisoned all the wells.

When the situation of the besieged became desperate they freighted a number of barks with their most precious property, but the Christian cannon destroyed and sunk them just off the Blocksberg; and no attempt has yet been made to recover any of their valuable lading, although it is asserted that the diving-bell could not fail to bring to light relics well worthy the attention of both the antiquary and the speculator.

The expulsion of the invaders did not, however, free the devoted city (which had sustained two hundred sieges within three centuries) from the scourge entailed upon it by Moslem occu-

ant of the city, received directions to put the ruins of the fortress into habitable condition, which was done in a rude and imperfect manner, in order to meet the exigences of the moment; nor was it until the reign of Maria Theresa that Buda once more resumed the splendour of a metropolitan city.

pancy, for it suffered severely from plague successively in the years 1686, 1692, 1709, 1710, 1723, and 1738; when numbers of its inhabitants fell victims to that direful malady.*

Under the Turkish domination the Wasserstadt, or stretch of town along the lip of the Danube, was entirely inhabited by Jews; and in all courts of justice their testimony bore more weight than that of a Christian. No Christian was permitted to live within the fortress; and the church of St. John the Evangelist remained for a long time after the restoration of Buda in the possession of the Jews. In 1706 Rákóczy and his troops approached Buda more than once, but were beaten back by Ferdinand von Pleffershofen.

In 1715 Charles II. commenced a repair of the fortifications, but the work being constantly interrupted by the Turkish wars, it was only completed under Maria Theresa.†

* In 1732 and 1775 two inundations of the Danube also took place, almost as extensive and destructive as that of 1838.

† It was in the reign of Charles VI. that the Royal Commandery (*Consilium Regium Locum-terentiale Hyncum,*) and the Royal Chamber of Finance (*Cammera Regia Hungaria Aulica,*) were removed from Presburg to Buda.

The gate known as that of Stuhlweissenburg (Alba Regia) was erected by the brave Valentine Enyingi-Török, whose name is still to be seen engraved on a stone above the arch.* And upon this same spot were exhibited not long ago several cannon-balls, and an iron *buzogany* (Hungarian club) fitted only for the grasp of a giant; of which the tale was told that the Magyar Hercules, Nicholas Toldy, was able to throw the balls across the Danube, and to play with the ponderous *buzogany* as though it had been a reed.

In 1751 Maria Theresa visited Buda during the sitting of the Diet at Presburg; and was received with such pomp as had never been witnessed in the troubled city since the nuptials of Corvinus and the Princess Beatrice of Poland. It was

* It is narrated of this hero that when Isabella, the widow of Zápolya, sent her son Sigismund to Buda at the command of Solyman, Török, who was one of the retinue of the young prince, was confined within the fortress after his companions were suffered to depart; and that on being brought before the Sultan, who addressed him with the words, "Slave! dost thou not fear me?" he answered boldly and laconically, "No!"—"Then are we unfairly matched;" said Solyman; "for I have learned to fear thee; and therefore I shall hold thee a fast prisoner."

this Queen who rebuilt the Corvinian palace on the same spot which it had previously occupied, and where it still stands; and during her reign and those of her immediate successors, Buda appeared instinct with new life. For several years the University was also there; and the son of Leopold II. having been elected Palatine of Hungary, took possession of the Fortress-palace, when Buda became, in fact as well as name, the capital of the kingdom for many years.

The progress of the sister-city on the opposite shore of the river greatly tended to depress the original town; but after the establishment of the bridge of boats a more constant and unimpeded intercourse took place between the two; and they may now be fairly considered as one capital.

CHAPTER IX.

TURKISH TOMB — WANDERING DERVISH — GUL-BABA — ORIENTAL TRADITION — THE BATHS — THE RASCIAN-BAD—THE KÖNIGS-BAD—THE KAISER-BAD—ANCIENT DOCUMENT — THE COMMON HALL — THE PALATINE BATH—THE BLOCKS-BAD.—THE BRÜCK-BAD — TEMPERATURE.

THE Turkish tomb at Buda is an object of great curiosity to all travellers who have not progressed further eastward; and is situated just above the suburb Neustift, (anciently called Felhöv-viz,) in the centre of the vineyard which covers the whole face of the height known as St. Joseph's Mount. It is a small edifice of octangular form surmounted by a dome, and surrounded by a dilapidated railing; and covers the remains of a Santon, or holy man, who breathed his last in Hungary just before the country was lost to the Turks in 1686.

From time to time a wandering Dervish from the far East visits the spot to offer up his prayers under the shadow of the sacred pile; and in the autumn of 1839 one of these devotees spent a week at the tomb of the saint.

The tradition attached to this solitary mausoleum is fanciful enough. The Moslems affirm that the Santon by whose bones it is now occupied was called *Gul-Baba*, or the "Father of Roses," because he used to perform his devotions among the flowers, and under the unimpeded sunshine; and that so holy and self-forgetful was his life, and so absorbing his meditations, that he ceased to satisfy the cravings of his hunger, or to regard the suffering which his neglect entailed upon his frame; when Allah, compassionating his self-inflicted pangs, sent a couple of pheasants laden with food to supply his necessities. These feathered messengers (fabled, no doubt, upon the fine Scriptural episode of Elijah fed by the ravens,) are believed by the Mahommedans to be still alive, and to fly annually from Mecca to the Mount of St. John at the season of roses, in order to strew with

blossoms the tomb of the pious and nature-loving Gul-Baba.*

The building itself is plain, unpicturesque, and rapidly going to decay; and is only interesting as a remain of Turkish inhabitation, and from its close vicinity ot the Kaiser-Bad, or Emperor's Bath.

I shall enter at some length upon the subject of the old Roman and Turkish Baths still existing at Buda, not only because they are of themselves both actually and historically interesting, but also because, when Hungary shall have become a place of more general resort to all the European wanderers who annually seek to escape from mental or

* The Baron von Hammer-Purgstall (indisputably the best existing authority on all questions of Oriental antiquity,) asserts that it is not Gul-Baba, but Ali Pasha, who lies buried on Mount Joseph. This Pasha is mentioned in the chronological tables as the fourteenth governor of Buda, and is also called Ali Kogli. It is furthermore recorded of him that in order to obtain the hand of the Asmè Sultana, the ugly daughter of Murad IV. then a widow, he repudiated his wife, and banished both her and her children. Appended to a letter dated in the year 1582, his signature runs thus: "Ali Pasha, by the will of Almighty God, the Emperor's Governor in Buda, and Lord-Lieutenant of Hungary."

bodily disease by foreign travel, they cannot fail to retain in the "City of the Magyar" many of those who have been attracted thither by the magnificence of its site, and the hoary captivations of its old-world grandeur.

It is not without emotion that the pilgrim casts aside his staff and his cloak to lave his limbs in the same stream which once flowed over the burning and ambitious brow of a Cæsar or a Solyman; nor can the timid invalid conjure up a doubt of the salubrity of the "healing waters," which neither the change of nations and of creeds, nor the lapse of centuries, has been able to invalidate.

The *Rascian-Bad*, at the north-west base of the Blocksberg near the canal of Mount Paulus, and close beside the church of the Schismatic Greeks, is stated by Bertrandar to have existed as early as 1433, when the capital, which had been founded and commenced under Bela IV. began to increase in size and consequence. That Sigismund's successor, Corvinus, when he embellished the city of Buda, fitted up this bath in a truly regal manner admits of no doubt, as it stood immediately opposite to the royal palace at the angle of the

mountain called Speissberg, which formed the principal portion of the King's garden; when Oláh calls it the Royal Bath, and Taferner asserts that a vaulted passage in the external wall of the fortress gave ingress to it.

Ferdinand III. made a present of the *Rascian-Bad* during his reign to John de Bergasi, a native of Babylon, to whom the gift was probably beyond price. It is of mean appearance, but its antiquity nevertheless invests it with great interest; the northern side of the building having been in being since the time of Corvinus; in addition to which it is the only remain of genuine Magyar architecture to be found in the country; and may be supposed from its situation, and the outlay once bestowed upon it, to have been considered as no mean appendage to the royal establishment.

The *Königs-Bad*, or King's Bath, is situated in the court of the hospital of the Holy Ghost, and was the last Hummum built by the Turks; although even the learned Moslem historian Aashik gives no account of its actual founder.

Istvánfy says that it was the Pasha Aslan, the predecessor of Mustapha, who commenced the

walls, but that this prince having been arrested and strangled by order of the Emperor, it is probable that his successor finished the work, and vaulted in the open bathing-halls.

This Bath was frequented as early as 1560 by the different Pashas then residing in the vicinity; but when the lower town was partially ruined by the repeated sieges which it had to sustain between 1598 and 1602, the Pasha of Buda removed his residence to the citadel, and the establishment fell into decay.

Brown saw this Bath in its ruin, and calls it *Tachtalii* (Table-Bath), which name may have been indifferently derived from the great size of the stones with which it is paved, and from the leaden and glass tables of Mustapha.

The *Kaiser-Bad,* or Emperor's Bath, is the most perfect establishment, both as regards its convenience, and the order in which it is kept, now existing at Buda. It is situated about a mile and a half above the bridge, at the foot of St. Joseph's Mount, and at the extremity of the suburb of Alt-Ofen, through which runs the road to Vienna.

That these springs have gushed forth from time immemorial from their hidden and unfathomable mountain-sources admits of no question; and, according to an ancient chronicle, Attila and his Magyar followers encamped beside them when they first entered that land of promise—Pannonia.*

In a document of Geysa II., dated 1148, the site of this source is called *Geysa-Vasárhely*, or Geysa's market-place; and in another writing of the reign of Andrew II. in 1212, it is mentioned as the boundary of the parish of Old Buda.

Under Corvinus a handsome church and market-house named after the Holy Trinity, were erected in the immediate vicinity of this Bath; and just after the death of that king, when Hungary was tottering to its fall, both Vadianus and Istvánfy mention the high degree of heat possessed by these springs, as well as the extraordinary phenomenon of the presence of both fish and frogs in cisterns filled with water scarcely endurable by a human being.

* An ancient name of Hungary.

When Buda fell under the sway of the Turks, Mohammed Pasha caused this Bath to be greatly embellished, and he increased its magnificence by erecting a *Tekiè* or convent of Dervişhes in its neighbourhood, every vestige of which has long disappeared; but even the profuse expenditure of this Prince did not satisfy the luxurious tastes of Mustapha Pasha, who when Governor of Buda in 1566–79 again lavished large sums on the establishment, and caused an Asiatic architect to erect thirty mills close beside it, surrounding the whole with a wall.

The springs by which it is fed greatly resemble in their properties those near Broussa in Asia Minor, although their medicinal qualities are less powerful. The water is conveyed by pipes into tanks of native red marble; the largest and darkest of the bathing-halls (the only remnant now remaining of the Turkish *hummum)* being appropriated to the lower orders, where the sexes enter indiscriminately, on payment of three kreutzers *schein*, about one penny English.

I was much startled at this arrangement; the Turks never suffering so objectionable an admix-

ture, and the frequenters of the public hall not having even the poor excuse of an ill precedent to plead in extenuation of the practice.

I did not, of course, enter this vaulted apartment, which is gained through a low archway of solid architecture; but I understood it to be very spacious, very close and suffocating, and crowded from sunrise to sunset with disease and squalor.

A pretty court, planted with acacia-trees and surrounded by bathing-rooms, (which also serves as a rural dining-place during the summer months, the Baths being rented by a restaurateur,) permits the visitor to gain a spacious raised terrace, whence he commands a glorious view of the river and its shores, with that "emerald gem" the Margaret Island lying bathed in sunshine amid the ripple.

The particular Bath which we used during our sojourn at Pesth was the largest of the private cisterns, known as the Palatine Bath; and we were greatly amused on one occasion when the *custodier* of the establishment found us rather disposed to defer our immersion until the morrow, than to make use of any other, by his somewhat

peevishly exclaiming: "There must surely be a spell in this cistern for the English; for your Dr. Bowring, when he was here some years ago, always bathed in the 'Palatine'."

I believe the magic to have existed in the fact that the stream by which that particular Bath is fed, is the hottest of the establishment.

There is another *hummum* under the promontory of Mount St. Gerard, close to the edge of the Danube, commonly called the *Blocks-Bad.* At this spot the Hungarians are said to have first crossed the river; and the place of their landing was named, according to Johannes Thurocz, *Kalenföld.* Koprinai asserts that as early as 1459, during the reign of Corvinus, a village called St. Elizabeth stood here; and Oláh mentions that independently of the Royal Bath *(Rascian-Bad)* several other medicated springs gushed from the same mountain within twenty paces of the Danube.

This Bath was even in the time of the learned Aashik celebrated for its miraculous cures, but it had at that period already become ruinous. After the recovery of Buda, the Emperor Leopold I.

made a present of the *Blocks-Bad*, then totally dilapidated, to his private physician Ferdinand Ilmer von Wartenberg in 1687; whose heirs sold it to the magistrates of the city.

Close to the water-side, and overhung by the towering Blocksberg on its eastern side, stands the Bridge-Bath *(Brück-Bad,)* near which Istvánfy mentions that Mustapha Pasha built a convent of Dervishes. It is with this bath that Aashik commences his description of the hot-springs of Buda; which he (with great probability in the opinion of antiquaries) states to have been situated near the mountain of Gürf Elias, under the name of the *Pesth-Bad.* Brown calls the principal hall "the Bath with green pillars." Its architecture is majestic, the vaulted roof in the genuine Turkish taste, being supported by eight distinct circular columns. There is no doubt that it is by far the handsomest in the city; although the purity of its style has been destroyed by the introduction of *spiegel-bader*, or mirror-baths in the corners of the building, in order to increase at once its means of convenience, and the revenues of the establishment.

It is frequented only by the very dregs of the people, and is, as I have been informed, even more revolting than the common hall of the *Kaiser-Bad.* An inscription in the Turkish character surmounts its low arched entrance.

The private cisterns are commodious, cleanly, and comfortable, and are gained by a distinct entrance; they open into an airy and spacious court, and are of various prices and dimensions. Two of them remain in precisely the same condition as during the occupation of the Turks.

The temperature in the great cistern is about 180° Fahrenheit. According to an ancient authority this bath was some centuries ago much hotter than it is at present; and notwithstanding this fact a quantity of fish existed in the cisterns. The water when suffered to subside, forms a great deposit of mud; whence it is also called the Mud-Bath.

CHAPTER X.

ANCIENT WALL—CORVINIAN WAY—VAS FOGÚ BABA—THE IRON HERB—THE IMPRISONED WITCH—THE ROYAL SIGNET—THE DEAD PRINCE—CONVENTS OF BUDA—JEWS' QUARTER—CONVENTUAL CONVERSIONS—CATHOLIC CHURCHES—SCHOLASTIC COMMUNITIES GREEK SCHOOLS—INFANT-SCHOOL—BLIND INSTITUTION—HOSPITALS—SISTERS OF CHARITY—THE ARCHDUCHESS-PALATINE—THE PATIENTS—THE CONVENT—HOSPITAL FOR AGED FEMALES—THE CHAPEL—THE STAFF OF ST. ELIZABETH—THE SKULL OF RÁKÓCZY—MONASTERIES OF BUDA—THE CAPUCHINS—THE REPENTANT HUSBAND—THE LIBRARY—"INTERDICTED BOOKS"—THE REPROBATE ARTIST—THE PRIOR—PRIVATIONS OF THE ORDER—THE GARDENS—EXTERIOR OF THE EDIFICE—THE FRANCISCANS—VALUABLE MANUSCRIPTS—THE REFECTORY—INDUSTRY OF THE ORDER—THE WORKSHOPS—RELIGIOUS SCANDAL—HUNGARIAN REGALIA—SANCTITY OF THE CROWN—THE RIGHT HAND OF ST. STEPHEN—ANCIENT HYMN—GARRISON OF BUDA.

A VERY ancient and massive fragment of wall still in existence, and projecting from an angle of

the Fortress towards the Christina-Stadt, is rendered so curious from the tradition attached to it, that it must not be passed over in silence. It is stated in the archives of the times that Matthias Corvinus was desirous to form a raised road from his palace to a height beyond the pretty valley which is now filled with cottages and vineyards, by which he might more readily gain the neighbouring mountains for the purposes of sport; and as this energetic monarch never believed anything to be impossible which it was his pleasure to accomplish, the gigantic work was commenced; but in order to complete the undertaking, it was necessary to purchase from the several proprietors all the land traversed by this Corvinian highway.

There was one old woman, however, known in the neighbourhood by the name of *Vas Fogú Baba*, or the Iron-Toothed, whom neither gold nor threats could prevail upon to sell her little garden, for therein grew the iron-herb* through whose strange virtue she possessed the power of opening all locks, and loosening alike bolts and fetters.

* Vervain.

In vain did the irritated monarch summon her to his presence, and vow to her upon his kingly word that if she did not instantly put a price upon the handful of land to which she clung so tenaciously, he would shut her up for life in the *Czonka-Torony;* she laughed at his violence, and replied coldly; "Do you seek it, proud monarch, for the benefit of your people, or the glory of your kingdom? Is it to save blood-shedding, or to fill sad hearts with joy, that you would rob the poor of their little heritage? No, no: it is that you may make more ready war upon an unequal enemy, and sport away the hours that the squalid pass in labour. The peasants are torn from the plough by which they gained bread for their children, in the furtherance of this new caprice, and are degraded into slaves and beasts of burthen to minister to a whim; but let them toil on—the crown upon your brow would be a price far lighter than you shall pay for the insane toy which now occupies your fancy."

Scarcely had the infuriated King heard her to an end, than he commanded that she should forthwith be incarcerated in the dreaded Towers

and she was dragged from his presence with a mocking smile upon her lip.

Keys were turned and bolts were drawn upon her, but from the windows of his palace Matthias could see her every morning weeding her little garden, and his rage became unbounded. A closer watch and a deeper dungeon were tried without avail; and at length, irritated by a circumstance for which he could not account, the King declared that should this contempt for his authority again occur, the negligent jailer who had permitted her evasion should be put to death. The threat was carried into execution more than once, and only induced a waste of life without enforcing obedience; when the Monarch, resolved that his enemy should no longer laugh him to scorn, himself closed the tower, and sealed it with his royal signet.

The door was heavily studded with iron, and the dungeon had no other outlet; but in order to place the escape of Vas Fogú Baba beyond all possibility, Matthias resolved to affix a second seal to the lock, and then leave her to her fate. While he was preparing to do this, however, he missed his

ring; and the imprisoned witch, thrusting her bony hand through the bars of the narrow aperture which served as a window to her cell, presented the lost trinket to the astonished monarch, depending from one of her own wiry fingers.

"Seal on, seal on;" she said tauntingly: "but each time that I go forth to weed my garden, I shall borrow it again."

The King usually wore the signet on his little finger, but he now with some difficulty forced it upon the next: "You will find yourself baffled in the hope, witch as you are, or I am no monarch," he said sternly, as he turned away.

"Set wide the door!" screamed the hag, when she saw him preparing to depart: "Throw back the bolts, and bid me walk forth into the free air, or you shall rue the dawning of to-morrow!"

But Matthias heeded not her words; and after the evening meal he retired to his couch, satisfied that all annoyance was over from Vas Fogú Baba.

The morning was just breaking, and the long shadows of the Blocksberg and its subject mountains were lying darkly on a flood of liquid gold, shed by the awakening sun over the broad bosom

of the Danube, when messengers of evil were already on the threshold of the King's chamber; his beloved Beatrice was the mother of a dead prince, and his long-cherished hope had set in bitterness.

The unhappy monarch rushed to her bedside; and there, within the heavy folds of the velvet curtains, like some noxious spirit, crouched the hideous Vas Fogú Baba, muttering and gibbering to herself. The King desisted from his undertaking; nor did he even make an effort to revenge himself upon the unholy hag; but from that day the Queen continued childless.

The Convents of Buda are far more numerous than those of Pesth; and the population, amounting to thirty-six thousand souls, are nearly all Catholics; the number of Protestants does not exceed three hundred; the Jews muster about as many thousands; and the Greek Christians, inhabiting the slope of the Blocksberg, (known as the Raiczen-stadt, from its having been originally peopled by a Sclavonic colony which emigrated into Hungary from Servia in the fifteenth century,) amount to about two thousand. The Jews' quar-

ter is called Alt-Ofen, or Old Buda, a filthy suburb stretching along the bank of the Danube, on the Vienna road, beyond Neustift; if road that may be called which is a waste of mud and masses of stone, giving little indication of the vicinity of a royal residence.

The Vice-Regal Court now holds its sittings in what was formerly the Benedictine Monastery; while that of the extinct Paulites serves as the Hof-Kammer, where the archives of the kingdom are preserved.

These spacious buildings are indebted for their conversion into public establishments to Joseph II., who dislodged the monks of all the Budan monasteries, except the Hospital-Brothers; his Imperial Majesty not being of a humour to tolerate drones in the hive.

There are nine Catholic churches in Buda, including those of the Franciscans and Pierists; which latter order is scholastic. Its principal establishments are in the sister-cities; four hundred and eighty-two pupils being educated at the Ofen-Archgymnasium; two hundred and fifty-three in its Normal School; and six hundred and twenty-

seven, and five hundred and forty-four in the corresponding establishments of Pesth; while the entire number throughout Hungary and Transylvania amounts to eight thousand one hundred and fifty-nine scholars, and three hundred and ninety-four teachers.

There are also Protestant and Schismatic Greek schools at Buda, but of no great extent. Perhaps the most interesting of the former is the Infant-School, under the patronage of the Princess-Palatine, the Countess Téléki, and other distinguished ladies, where we found about two hundred children of tender age, educated upon precisely the same principles, and according to the same method adopted in similar institutions in England. At six years old the pupils leave this establishment for the Grammar-School, and many of them display great intelligence for their age. One little girl particularly interested me, and I led her up to an engraving of the Saviour, surrounded by infants, uttering that sublime command: "Suffer little children to come unto me;" and pointing to the picture, asked her if she knew what it meant.

" It means ;" said the child, without a moment's hesitation, " that if we are good we shall go to God, and he will take care of us; for he loves children, and will not send them away if they have been taught to come to him."

The Blind Institution is also full of painful interest; and the amiable Archduchess, who is ever to be found where there is human suffering, has done a great deal towards ensuring the prosperity of the Institution. Reading, writing, and music form the principal studies of the pupils; and gymnastic exercises afford their favourite recreation.

Nearly all the professors labour under the same deprivation as the scholars; and notwithstanding this fact, the greatest cheerfulness pervades the establishment.

The Princess-Palatine has a Protestant chapel in the palace, where service is performed every alternate week during the summer months, when her Imperial Highness also attends the Lutheran Church in Pesth; and constantly throughout the winter while she is unable to do so: strangers are always freely admitted; and a regular chaplain performs the duties.

The Hospitals of Buda are three in number. I had the honour of visiting that of the Sisters of Charity with the Archduchess; and shall never forget the astonishment which I felt when as we approached the different beds she explained to me the state of each patient, and the length of time that they had been in the hospital; nor the delight manifested by the sufferers at her apparition. She had a kind word, and a consoling remark for every one; nor did the fretfulness of disease, nor the egotism of long-endurance chase the smile from her lip, nor the sympathy from her manner.

One old bedridden woman, a native of Würtemberg, actually reproached her that she had not been to see her *for three days!* and holding her hand, called her "my heart," and "my dear child," and detailed the puerile events which had occurred to her during that interval, with full confidence in the interest which the narration would excite in the breast of her Imperial visitor; while the Abbess followed upon her footsteps with a heartfelt reverence in which the remembrance of her rank had evidently little share.

There were nineteen patients in the ward, and

among them many who were young and beautiful, the victims of consumption, which lent a deeper glow to their cheeks and a brighter fire to their eyes; but it was the aged and the dying who principally occupied the attention of the admirable Princess: the cripple whose deformity had endured from the cradle to the grave, and the victim whose loathsomeness would have chased from her pillow every one but a Christian.

We spent an hour in the ward; and before we left, each patient had the happiness of looking forward to the arrival of some little luxury from her exalted benefactress; and every promise was made with such a meek and beautiful appeal to the permission of the Superior, that her authority must have been strengthened, and her judgment have commanded more deference than before; so thoughtful and judicious was the Archduchess even in her benevolence.

The convent itself is a model of cleanliness and order; and the nuns, as the members of this sisterhood ever are all over the world, gentle, zealous, and humble-minded. Attached to the house is an hospital, or rather retreat for aged and indigent

women, where every little comfort consistent with their station is afforded to the inmates, and they are attended and nursed during illness by the sisters.

This establishment is, however, shortly to be removed to Pesth, where the "Ladies' Benevolent Society," of which the Princess-Palatine is the President, have lately purchased a very fine building in the Stadtwalchen, which was formerly a silk manufactory, and which is now preparing for the reception of this and two other charities.

From the convent we adjourned to the chapel, which is tolerably handsome; and where the Archduchess was kind enough to request the Superior to show to me the staff of St. Elizabeth, which is only exhibited once a year on the occasion of her festival. She of course complied, and a strong oaken case covered with velvet having been taken from a chest, the precious relic lay before me. It is a very substantial walking-stick, studded all over with turquoise, and terminated by a large silver-gilt essence-box. On this identical staff the saint is asserted to have leant when visiting the sick, of whom she is the peculiar

patroness, (whence all the hospital-nuns are called Elizabethans,) while the pungent contents of the essence-box are fabled to have restored the dying to life.

It has evidently been intended as an antidote to contagion, and may very probably have frequently been efficacious in a case of syncope, which would be quite foundation enough on which to base a miracle in the credulous age in which she flourished.

Be all that as it may, however, it is a very handsome relic, and did not startle my heretic nerves half so much as the chemise of the Virgin Mary at Aix-la-Chapelle, or the duplicate skeleton, to which I was introduced in this country.

The mention of this double-bodied, or rather double-boned saint reminds me of an anecdote related to me the other day by a friend, which will bear repetition here. He was travelling through Hungary, and visited one of the fine châteaux of the Prince Grassalkovitch, in which there is a museum of antiquities.

The house-steward chanced to be ill, and the librarian absent; and the priest of the village of-

fered himself to the stranger as *cicerone*, a courtesy of which he was naturally happy to take advantage.

The good Padre acquitted himself marvellously well among the velvet hangings; became rather less at ease in the portrait gallery; and was evidently "at fault" in the museum; but, like Sancho Panza, he seemed resolved to "put a good face upon it;" and accordingly when he saw the traveller pause before two sculls, he lifted one of them in his hand, and exclaimed: "Ah! this is indeed a treasure. His Highness possesses no greater in his collection. This, Sir, is the scull of the famous Rákóczy." The traveller looked at the relic with becoming reverence; and then turning to the smaller one which stood beside it, he asked with some anxiety: "And this? Is this also the poor remain of a hero?" "That, Sir:" said the priest with a little hesitation, succeeded by a sudden and immense increase of importance; "That, Sir, is perhaps even a greater curiosity than the other—that is the scull of Rákóczy when he was a boy!"

The three principal monasteries of Buda are

those of the Hospital-Brothers, the Capuchins, and the Franciscans. The former requires no description, as its rules and purpose are the same as those of all similar monastic institutions; and a few words will suffice for the other two. The chapel of the Capuchins possesses a handsome altar, and one or two tolerably good pictures; but it suffered considerably from the inundation of 1838, and has not yet been restored.

The most remarkable object in the church is a tablet of dark marble affixed to the wall near one of the lateral shrines, and dedicated to the memory of an inhabitant of Buda, who after living happily with his wife for fourteen years, suddenly adopted the idea that this state of existence was sinful; and consequently, endowing the convent with his property, he became a brother of the order, and left the unfortunate woman who had been the partner of his fortunes, with her helpless children, to the mercy of Providence; greatly to the edification of the monks, and the indignation of his fellow-citizens. This worthy individul only died about five years ago, and the record of his selfishness is still fresh in its gold-lettering.

The Library is insignificant in extent, but contains a few curious manuscripts; and one division, carefully locked, is headed "Interdicted Books." I looked through the screen, and saw, as I was quite prepared to do, Voltaire figuring conspicuously among them. These books, we were told, had belonged to different individuals now or previously members of the order, who on taking the vows, give up their libraries to the inspection of the Superior, in order that he may confiscate such portions of them as he considers unorthodox. "La Morale de la Religion" was one of these interdicted books, but with the exception of this, and the three volumes of Voltaire, all the collection was in Latin.

Our attention was after some time diverted from the bookshelves to an unfinished painting which was leaning against the wall, and we enquired whether they were fortunate enough to have an artist in the community; when we were gravely informed that the picture in question, intended as an altar-piece for the shrine of the Virgin in the Convent Chapel, was the work of a young painter, who, when travelling through the country, had

applied to the brotherhood for employment, and had been commissioned to execute a head of "Our Lady of Succour," for which purpose his easel was established in the Library. He commenced his undertaking during the summer months, and had progressed thus far when a violent thunder-storm burst over the city; and the lightning striking an angle of the building, rent the roof, and penetrating under the door of the Library, overturned the easel, and for a time deprived the artist of sight. "By which miracle;" concluded our chronicler: "we at once understood that Our Lady did not see fit to be painted by the hand of this young man; and being consequently satisfied of his unworthiness to undertake so holy a work, we dismissed him from among us.

We found the Prior both courteous and intelligent; and we consequently penetrated much further into the building after he joined us than we should have succeeded in doing under the auspices of the lay brother who did the honours of the chapel. We saw their immense refectory, which they have ceded for the present to the Govern-

ment as a post-office, the late inundation having destroyed the edifice which was formerly appropriated to that establishment.

The Capuchin, being a mendicant order, are not permitted any luxury either of food or accommodation: their cells are wretched in the extreme, and barely heated from one stove on the ground-floor. They are only allowed meat once a week, and are as scant of linen as a Bedouin Arab.

We accompanied the Superior to the gardens, in one of which there is a fine spring that during the invasion of the Turks was converted into a bath; this was, however, considered too great an indulgence for the brotherhood; the cistern with all its accessories was consequently removed; and the fountain now simply serves to supply the convent with water.

Some of the finest grapes which we had seen in the country were gathered and presented to us before we took our leave, as well as some beautiful Provens roses; and we were followed to the gate of the convent by the Prior and his attendant monk, with a courtesy which did honour to the cloister.

The edifice is by no means handsome in its exterior; the body of the building receding far behind the chapel in one unbroken line, and looking like a huge manufactory. There are two doors of entrance opening from the street. Over that which leads into the convent there is a tolerable fresco of a brother of the order telling his rosary; and above that of the chapel a portly monk, with a well-filled satchel at his back, and the appropriate motto *Deo gratias.*

The Franciscans are a more wealthy order than their Capuchin neighbours, and are now building a new convent, their own being no longer habitable. Before the Turkish invasion the original community settled here were Augustines; but after being tolerated for a time, they were subjected to great persecution and indignity from the Infidels, and ultimately dispersed; and on the recapture of the city by the Christians, only four or five of the brotherhood appeared to claim possession of their convent; who, finding themselves unable to support the necessary expenses, sold it to the present proprietors.

We mounted a flight of very rickety stairs in

the old barn-like edifice in order to see the wreck of their library, which is, notwithstanding the havoc committed among its contents by the conquerors, still the most valuable collection of books and manuscripts possessed by any brotherhood in Buda, amounting to some thousands of volumes, many of which are of great rarity and value.

The worthy monks who did the honours of their house, appeared, however, to be infinitely more interested in the progress of their new refectory than in the transfer of their portly and ancient tomes to a more seemly apartment; and soon hurried us to the other wing of the house; where, after duly inspecting the capacious dining-hall, we visited their workshops, which were to us considerably more worthy of attention.

This order is extremely industrious, everything necessary to the brotherhood being produced in the convent, and each member of the community plying his particular trade. Thus the carpenters, glaziers, and painters employed on the new building were all Franciscans; and we saw others weaving linen and serge for their cassocks, and making the coarse sandals which are their sub-

stitutes for shoes, as well as cooking their food, and cleaning out their cells.

In one of the religious houses within the fortress, now become public offices, the Diet was formerly held; and near it stands what was originally a convent of nuns; of course the old scandal of a subterranean passage between the two is not wanting, but as I did not see it, I can make no affirmation of the fact.

In the chapel of the Palace are preserved the Hungarian crown and regalia, which are regarded by the Magyars with the utmost veneration, and guarded with the most jealous care. Joseph II., by removing them to Vienna, alienated for ever the hearts of his Hungarian subjects. They are deposited in a room which is kept constantly locked, the door having a small square opening barred with iron, through which the body-guard of a captain and sixty veteran grenadiers, by whom they are constantly watched, can assure themselves that the chest in which they are deposited is intact. This chest is the exterior one of three, each of which is carefully secured, and the keys are confided to two noble guardians.

When this high post is vacant the King proposes from among the Magnates, Supreme Counts, and other high personages, three individuals, (without any regard to difference of religion,) and from these the Diet subsequently elects the one for whom there have been the majority of votes; who ranks as a junior Baron of the kingdom, from the moment of his succeeding to the dignity of *Garde-couronne*.

The golden circlet of the crown was sent by the Greek Emperor Michael Ducas from Byzantium to King Geysa I. It is surmounted by two arched bands of gold, which cross each other in the centre, and have the holy reputation of being fabricated by angels, and bestowed by Pope Sylvester seventy-five years previously to St. Stephen.

No King is acknowledged by the Magyars whose brow has not been encircled by the Crown of St. Stephen; and the consequence of this omission to the Emperor Joseph is the expulsion of his name from the list of Hungarian monarchs, and the total annulment of all the laws which were passed during his reign.

In 1790 the crown was removed with great

rejoicings from Vienna, escorted by the magnificent banners of the counties, and amid the almost frantic delight of the populace, deposited in the Budan palace.

In 1777 the great Hungarian relic, the right hand of St. Stephen, was solemnly installed in the Church of St. John; and even yet annually on the 20th of August, which is the fête of the canonised King, this hand is paraded with much pomp throughout the fortress, accompanied by a grand procession, to which (being the national festival) all the authorities of Buda and Pesth, the Chief County Authorities, the High Officers of the University and Municipality, and the Trades resort in state.

Since its rescue from the Turks, Buda has been principally inhabited by Germans, the descendants of those who assisted to restore it to its Christian masters, nearly all the native Magyars who fought beside them on that occasion having been slain; yet they still sing on this anniversary an Hungarian cantique, of which the origin is lost:

> "*O dicsöséges Szent Jobbkéz,*
> *Melyet Magyar shajtvanéz,*" etc.

"Oh, glorious and holy right hand,
On which Hungaria looks with sighs."

It is asserted that this hymn was first printed in Nuremberg in 1484; and were the fact satisfactorily proved, it would be the most ancient example of the Magyar printed language in existence; but recent researches have failed to determine the point.

The present garrison of Buda consists of two Battalions of Italian Infantry; one ditto Hungarian, sixteen hundred men; one ditto Grenadiers, eight hundred men; and half a squadron of Cavalry, composed of detachments from the several regiments stationed in the kingdom, and changed every month; which acts as a Fire-guard and Patrol for both Buda and Pesth.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FAIR SHEPHERDESS—LOVELY COUNTRY—CORVINUS'S GARDEN—ROCK OF ST. ANTHONY—RESTAURANTS—THE MOUNTAIN-SPRING—M. DE DÖBRENTEI—SPRING-PLEASURES—PROUD MEMORIES—VAIN REGRETS—THE VALLEY—MONASTERY OF ST. PAUL—RUINS—THE COMMUNITY—A HOLY DEATH-BED—CHARLES ROBERT—THE RECLUSE—VISITS OF CORVINUS TO THE PAULITES—THE PORTER—THE PENANCE—THE SCULPTOR—DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERY BY THE TURKS—ABOLITION OF THE ORDER BY JOSEPH II.—AN OLD-WORLD TALE.

We lately spent a very pleasant day in a nook among the Buda mountains, to which I have elsewhere alluded, about a league and a half distant from the city, called by the Hungarians *Szép Juhászné*, or the Fair Shepherdess, in memory of an adventure which there befel their King Matthias Corvinus, of whom they love every legend as though it were a tale of yesterday.

Our route lay amid vine-covered hills, where the ripe fruit was blushing in gold and amethyst, and wooing the hand of the vintager; until we left the carriage in order to walk through a lovely gorge, all grass and forest-trees, shut in on either hand by heights on which the autumn sun slept lovingly, and the breeze wantoned among the wild flowers. This beautiful spot was once a garden belonging to the above-named monarch, who had caused a hunting-pavilion to be erected within it, for his convenience when sporting in the neighbourhood; and although no vestige now remains of its former culture, it is so still, so shady, and so lovely in its present state, that it is impossible to regret the period of its regality.

Pursuing this gorge, which, by a gentle ascent, led us up the side of the next height, we came upon a bold bluff grey rock of coarse granite, standing out from the verdure about it like a stone pulpit of Cyclopean architecture. The mass is known as the Rock of St. Anthony, and I should imagine that if the holy recluse underwent upon this spot one of his many temptations it must

have been in the shape of a goblet of wine, for it is the centre of a hundred vineyards.

The gorge terminates in a fair glen, studded with one-storied houses of entertainment, which cannot be classed under any generic name for this species of establishment in England. They are like those of the Bois de Boulogne and Meudon, near Paris; into which all classes may enter without loss of caste on the one hand, or presumption on the other. From the vine-covered terrace of one of these, I made a sketch of the Rock of St. Anthony, at the desire of my mother; and then started off on foot with our good friend and companion M. Döbrentei, to visit the fountain, which gushing out of the earth on the summit of an adjacent height, causes the popularity of the glen in question far more than even its own intrinsic beauty.

It enjoys great renown in oculary cases, and all persons suffering from diseases of the eyes frequent it at the desire of their physicians.

The ascent to the spring was laborious enough, but had the fatigue been ten times greater it would

have been amply repaid by the glorious snatches of landscape which presented themselves on all sides. M. Döbrentei is intuitively and essentially a poet; he loves nature as a devotee loves the shrine before which he bows. Every shade in the autumnal verdure—every shadow on the changeful sky—every light flung by that most gorgeous of painters, the midday sun, over an earth whence he himself calls up the most beautiful effects—are dear to him; and it would seem strange to one who had not looked deeply into the human heart, that a mind which had principally developed its powers upon the past, should be so fervidly alive to the mysterious influences of the present.*

Nor were we alone in our hilly and woodland walk; two fair girls, the daughters of Mr. W——, accompanied us, and they soon ran wild among the countless hedge-blossoms, and fresh-sprung mushrooms. Now they brought us a rose, a pale, softly-tinted relic of the faded summer, which

* M. Döbrentei has been for years engaged in compiling, classifying, and completing a series of ancient manuscripts.

seemed to have outlived its season only to remind us how beautiful that vanished time had been; and now a mushroom, so vast in its dimensions that for aught we knew, or could dare to doubt, Titania might have feasted her whole court beneath its fluted roof, and reposed in state against its columnar pedestal, until the dawn warned her to take refuge from the broad sunlight, and the prying eyes of men; and as their happy reckless laughter rang out, and was echoed by the far-stretching woods, I could have wept to remember that for me such hours of untrammelled and girlish mirth were gone for ever.

'Tis a proud thing to roam from land to land—to sit one year within the solemn shadow of the Coliseum, while your soul swells with a consciousness of human power and of human prowess; and the next to breathe the keen winds which sweep about the regal brow of the Olympian Mountain, and to stand beside the throne where the ancients fabled the presence of Jupiter and his subject-gods—to feel the soft breezes of the Tagus cool with their delicate breath the fever of your brow—and next to shoot down the

current of the Bosphorus by moonlight, with dreams of the past and the future busy at your heart.—But none of these bright lands or brilliant moments can give back the blessed hours of youth! What are to them the crumbling of empires, or the shock of states?—Their fancies are wandering among the roses of the present—their spirits dance on the zephyrs, and their glad voices answer to the melody of the forest-leaves.

What are the joy, the pride, the satisfied ambition, or even the fame—that most envied and least real good which the world yields to its votaries—that cheat, which empty as it is, lures on thousands through years of labour, where the mind withers up the frame, and the spirits feed upon the body,—what are they to the fresh fond dreams of early life?—Alas, nothing! The rose may blossom still, but the noontide beam has touched it, and the dew is gone—the day may wear on in pride, but the morning brightness is lost for ever!

But away with thoughts like these—time is not to be stayed—we must be thankful that every

season brings its blessing; and that even grey hairs are not without their joy.

On the very crest of the height we found the fountain; a sparkling spring, looking like liquid diamonds in the hollow of the dark stone into which it flows; while far away beneath us spread a broad view of the lordly Danube, its shores studded with cities and forests, and its rapid waves crisping under the sunshine. We loitered for an hour in this sweet spot, and then warned rather by our watches than by our will, we retrod our steps to the *Gasthof* where we had left the carriage, and pursued our way up the mountain to *Szép Juhászné.*

The valley known by this name is surrounded on three sides by steep heights, and open on the fourth towards Buda, where at the termination of a long vista, may be seen the hill-seated city mirrored in the giant river at its feet. Nothing can be imagined more superb than this far-stretching view, which is only shut in by the porphyry mountains of Gran. On either hand a framework of vineyards reaching down the

abrupt and broken slopes of the rocky heights, with here and there a patch of forest-timber, lend their living green to throw up the lights of the picture; while on the spot where you stand to contemplate its glories, your foot rests among the hoary and time-worn ruins of what was once a vast monastic pile, now cumbering the earth in large and unsightly masses, and half overgrown with nut-trees and trailing brambles.

This monastery, which was dedicated to St. Paul, was founded in the year 1304 by a monk named Laurence, a native of Gran, who became General of the Order. Its dimensions are immense: for although in a state of total and even unpicturesque ruin, its boundary walls may still be followed up by those who are bold enough to encounter the thorny and tangled underwood in which they are clothed. Nothing now remains but masses of unsightly grey stone, without a vestige of man's labour or man's invention; save beneath one overhanging ledge of earth, where the soil has given way, and interlaced by the roots of the elder and the hazel, we discovered the base of a ribbed pillar of white marble. But this was all;

though ancient chroniclers have dwelt upon the splendour of this monastic stronghold, where the roofs were fretted with gold, and upheld by sculptured columns: where Kings feasted, and Prelates rested from their toils.

I never remember to have seen so utter and hopeless a ruin: for even with my mind full of its history and my fancy eager to profit by the tale, the eye could seize nothing on which the imagination could repose. I wandered about it in every direction in my anxiety to catch some pictorial effect, from which I might make a sketch, but it was in vain and I was reluctantly compelled to abandon the attempt.

In 1319, Charles Robert, King of Hungary and Duke of Anjou, who was at that period residing at the Palace of Vissegrád, gave to the monks both gold and protection, and furthered with great energy the prosperity of the community; in which he was powerfully aided by John Count of Ovar, and Paul, a citizen of Buda who had left his native Italy to reside among the Magyars.

During his reign the pile grew into stateliness and pomp: and the wide gardens and vineyards of

the brotherhood swept over all the adjacent heights, and clothed the intervening valleys with verdure and with beauty. Many of the brotherhood were students; men who devoted their whole energies to literary labour; while others employed themselves in handicraft and agriculture, making the landscape immediately around their Convent one vast and teeming storehouse.

Amid this majesty and abundance Laurence found himself in 1325 upon his death-bed:—his earthly trial was over; he had wrought well, and saw around him only loving eyes and regretful hearts. And one stood there who wore nor cowl nor cassock, and yet who mourned with the mourners, and mingled his prayers with those of the expiring Paulite. It was Charles Robert, who loved the monk for his singleness of spirit; and who was wont to say that Laurence had lived a saint, casting away all worldly passion and intrigue, buried in prayer and works of charity, a model for all true followers of the faith. His life had been a lesson even to a King; and now that monarch came to learn a sadder and a sterner still from the same holy tutor—he came

to see him die: and as the meek and pious spirit passed away, Charles Robert hung above his couch, and whispered words of peace and transport to the fleeting soul.

About the year 1456 one of the monks, named Ladislaus Báthori, separated himself from the fellowship of the brotherhood; and retiring to a small natural cavern in the mountain about a quarter of a league from the monastery, where he lived upon roots, wild-fruits, and the water of a spring which gushed from the rock near the entrance of the cave, refused to permit the intrusion of human foot within his retreat; and here, allowing himself no respite from labour save when darkness fell upon the earth, and compelled him to unwilling rest, he spent twenty dreary and silent years in translating the Scriptures from Latin into Hungarian, and compiling in the same laborious manner an epitome of the lives of the saints to whom he was principally devoted.*

* It was for some time believed that a portion of Báthori's translation of the Bible was among the manuscripts relating to the prophets of the Old Testament which are now existing in the Imperial Library at Vienna; but

Matthias Corvinus, who was passionately fond of hunting, for which diversion the mountains about Buda were famous in the olden time, between the years 1464 and 1490 paid frequent visits to the Monastery of St. Paul, where he spent much time with one Father Gregory, who from Chanoine of Gran had become General of the Order.

Unlike Charles Robert, or his son Louis le Grand, King Matthias loved the world too well himself to yield ready credence to the absolute self-denial of the monks; he had tasted its pomps, its pleasures, and even its follies; and, despite all the homilies of the holy Superior, he remained incredulous as regarded his pious hosts, and unreclaimed as respected his own tastes.

in the lately published researches of M. Döbrentei into the Antiquities and Monuments of Hungary, which were printed under the authority of the Magyar Academy, the translation alluded to appears to have been made in Moldavia between 1437 and 1441 by two Franciscan monks; who, fearing the persecutions of the Inquisitor John de Marchier, took refuge there with a number of their brotherhood as proselytes to the creed of John Huss.

In 1472 he is reported to have jested somewhat freely with Father Gregory when he saw in one of the sculptured corridors of the monastery the collected and still uncellared produce of the year's vintage; remarking that when Tristieu, the rigid General of the Order in 1363, restricted their meals each to two frugal dishes, he would have done well to have added a caution on the subject of their libations.

On one occasion the King, attended by his hunting train, reached the convent precisely at the hour of supper. One of the monastic rules enjoined that all strangers must ring the bell and await without, until the porter had procured leave for their admission from the General. The brother who held the keys instantly recognized the monarch, but instead of throwing wide the gates to give ingress to their regal guest, he deposited his supper upon a bench beside him, and then, hastening to the refectory, he announced the presence of Matthias to his Superior.

Gregory started from the table, and with all imaginable speed pressed forward to welcome the King; and prostrating himself before him, be-

sought that he would not visit his displeasure on the community for a disrespect attributable only to the ignorance of the porter.

"Fear not, good father," said the Monarch gaily; "your trusty door-keeper only did his duty, and we bear him no displeasure for his zeal. And may you, Gentlemen and Nobles;" he continued, turning towards the gorgeous retinue by which he was attended: "profit by so good an example; for I shall be right glad to find as much deference paid to my orders, as the General of the Paulites has just seen conceded to his."

I have already hinted that the Monarch gave very scant credence to the professions of monastic rigour and discipline made by his holy associates, and he resolved to convince himself, as he entertained no doubt that he could do, of their fallacy. Accordingly he succeeded one night in penetrating from the convent-chapel to the body of the building enveloped in his mantle; but he had not proceeded far when he was discovered by some of the brotherhood, who immediately seized and conveyed him to the infirmary. These having recognised his person, they became alarmed at their

own responsibility, and after exhausting themselves in excuses and entreaties prepared to announce his presence to the Superior; which the King, however, by blended threats and prayers at length succeeded with some difficulty in preventing.

The belfry tolled out midnight, and the cloistered brothers assembled for their devotions. Matthias, with one of the monks, was concealed behind a pillar of the choir; and the mass was scarcely said, when all the community, flinging aside their cassocks, presented their bare backs to the scourge of the Vicar.

This holy functionary performed his flagellatory duties with great zeal, sparing neither the thongs of his weapon, nor the feelings of his penitents; when the laughing Monarch whispered to his companion: "How now! Is this monastic justice? Do none strike but the Vicar?"

"Sire;" replied the monk: "if your Majesty vouchsafes a brief interval of patience, you will find that the Vicar will have his share."

"I hope so;" said Matthias; "for example is generally more efficacious than precept;" and in

effect a short time afterwards the Vicar meekly presented his own bare back to the tender mercies of one of his subordinates.

"So far, so well;" murmured the King: "each in his turn makes all equal—I have not been deceived."

About 1512 a famous sculptor, known to the community as Brother Vincent, after taking the vows, employed all his time which was not absorbed by prayer in embellishing by his art the sanctuary of the chapel. Records still exist of the magnificent productions of his unwearied chisel, but not a fragment remains to vouch for their authenticity. Perchance among the clinging underwood which almost defies the foot of curiosity, some precious relics may nevertheless yet be hidden, and may one day be brought to light by a similar accident to that which revealed to ourselves the base of the fluted column.

In its palmy days the Paulite monastery contained five hundred monks; but when in 1541 Solyman possessed himself of Buda, and pillage and murder rained blood on every side, the edifice was demolished from roof to base; the costly and

curious collection of manuscripts dispersed or entirely destroyed; and the treasures of the community scattered to the winds of Heaven.

The Order of St. Paul (sometimes called the Hermits of St. Paul,) was abolished in 1784 by Joseph II., and their lands now assist in supporting the Hungarian Hierarchy.

Near the ruin stands a commodious dwelling inhabited by the steward of the estate, who rents the ground-floor to a *restaurateur*, where we dined admirably for a mere trifle; after which we drove home laden with grapes and flowers, with our thoughts full of Matthias Corvinus and the Paulites.

I have not yet accounted, however, for the name of this fair valley; it is indeed an old-world tale of love—the very gossip of dead centuries—and yet how curious is the reflection that time has failed to change the feelings and passions of men, however it may have altered the aspect of all that surrounds them. But I had far better narrate than moralise—listen therefore to a little scandal at the expense of the Royal Matthias and *Szép Juhászné*.

In the golden age of the Hungarian nation, when the mountains to the north of Buda were one stretch of magnificent forest, where the sturdy oak and the scented lime grew into strength and beauty; and the slope which now descends gently towards the villages of Kovacsi and Budakersi was covered with fair meadows tessellated with flowers, that far-reaching forest was sacred to the royal hunt in which the King delighted, and those meadows were the sweet pastures of the Queen's flocks.

One day the regal huntsman wandered from his companions in the vicinity of Sauwinkel, a valley lying to the south of St. Stephen's Mount, and indebted for its name to the great numbers of wild boars which herded there; and on leaving the wood found himself immediately in front of the royal sheep-walk. The King was struck with admiration at the magnificent prospect which spread before him. He saw his capital with the wide plain of the Rákos in the distance, and at his feet the glorious river dancing in the light; scattered villages, majestic mountains, far-reaching forests,

and fertile valleys; and all bathed in a flood of summer sunshine, and redolent of joy.

But the Monarch soon looked upon another object even more attractive than these landscape beauties, for as he chanced to glance in the direction of the narrow path which led downward towards the Queen's sheep-folds, the young and lovely wife of the head-shepherd Sandor happened to be returning to her cottage not a hundred paces from where he stood, after having carried to her husband his morning meal. The fair shepherdess bent her head to the handsome huntsman as she passed, but without having the least suspicion of his identity.

The King followed her to her dwelling; and declaring that the mountain air and the exertion of the chase had given him an immense appetite which he had no means of gratifying, claimed her hospitality: upon which she bade him wait an instant beneath the great oak near the cottage, and she would share with him an excellent bowl of *Tarhô* * upon which she was about to make her

* Curds and whey.

own breakfast. The offer was accepted, and having disappeared for a moment into the hut, she returned with the *Turhó* and a couple of wooden spoons, one of which she gave to the King; then seating herself upon the grass, and inviting him to do the same, she took the earthen bowl upon her knees, and they commenced their repast.

Ere it terminated Matthias knew all the little history of her life; and she had learnt that her handsome guest was one of the King's huntsmen, that his name was Nicholas, and that she was the very prettiest woman that he had ever known; although he had even seen the Queen herself.

He had seen the Queen! The delighted Theresa was instantly all curiosity, and insisted on knowing what the Queen was like: nay, so bent was she upon obtaining a *real* idea of "the first lady in the realm," that she ultimately consented to reward the confidence with a kiss.

The forfeit had just been paid, when the blast of a horn announced the approach of the Royal hunt; and Matthias started to his feet, assuring Theresa that if he were discovered, he should be

severely chidden for his idleness; so with all speed he sold her a plump partridge which he drew from his game-bag, for a second kiss, and disappeared.

When the shepherd Sandor had folded his flocks, and returned home to supper, the savoury dish was set before him, accompanied by a long account of the handsome huntsman. The shepherd was, however, less delighted than his wife; and although he relished the partridge, he was not particularly pleased with the medium through which it came.

Suffice it that the visits of the King became longer and more frequent; and as Theresa never failed to acquaint her husband with all that took place, the simple couple ultimately deemed it necessary to claim the protection of the Queen, as from the fact of Nicholas being a member of the Royal hunt, all minor interference would probably be useless; and an appeal to the King himself they considered to be quite out of the question.

Early in the morning therefore, clad in their best, they started for Buda; and when it was an-

nounced to the Queen that her head-shepherd desired to be admitted to her presence, she sent for him without delay.

But it was not of probable danger to the sheep that Sandor came to apprise her Majesty; and accordingly, when he received permission to speak, he began by declaring that he wished a wife were as easy to take care of as all the flocks on that side of the Danube; a commencement which so much amused his Royal mistress that she desired him to explain his meaning.

Theresa, however, preferred telling the tale herself; and she did so with such simplicity that the Queen had become interested in the adventure, even before a suspicion grew upon her which by no means tended to lessen its impression. When the fair Shepherdess dropped her concluding curtsey she was desired to give a description of the handsome huntsman, and her sketch was admirably accurate. He was a fine young man, she said, with a bright colour in his cheeks, an aquiline nose, large blue eyes, chesnut hair curling in long ringlets about his

shoulders, broad-chested, nobly made, and of the middle size.

The Queen at once recognised the original of the portrait, and telling the simple couple that she would be at their cottage at nightfall when Nicholas had promised to pay Theresa a visit, and speak to the bold huntsman with her own royal lips, Sandor and his wife returned home perfectly tranquil.

At set of sun Queen Beatrice was already at the shepherd's hut in the dress of a peasant girl; and desiring the astonished Theresa to be ready with a lamp the moment she should be summoned, but not to appear previously, she sat down calmly to await the coming of her truant husband.

The King created no unnecessary delay; and as soon as his horse's hoofs were heard upon the stony path, each withdrew to her station. The Monarch sprang from the saddle, fastened his charger's bridle to a branch of the friendly oak, and strode into the cottage. Fortune was more propitious than even he had dared to hope, for

when he had groped his way to the inner chamber, he found himself locked in the soft arms of a woman. He poured forth a thousand vows, bestowed upon his captor a thousand fond caresses; and at a given signal, as the lamp of the fair Shepherdess streamed into the room, discovered that he had most unfashionably been making love for the last twenty minutes to his own wife!

Fortunately for Matthias *it is asserted* that the Queen in her amusement at the adventure forbore to chide; be that, however, as it may, the story soon became whispered abroad; and the rich presents which the regal Beatrice made to the Fair Shepherdess were considerably augmented by the donations of sundry curious courtiers, who from time to time passed St. Stephen's Mount to take a peep at the rustic beauty from whose lap the King had eaten his mess of *Tarhó*.

There is a charming version of this little legend, but too much in detail for my purpose, in the Aurora, an Hungarian Annual of 1822, by M. Károly Kis.

CHAPTER XII.

CONDITION OF THE MAGYAR PEASANTRY — EFFORTS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY IN THEIR FAVOUR — CONSTITUTION OF HUMAN SOCIETY—WARLIKE CHARACTER OF THE HUNGARIAN NATION—SYSTEM OF SERFAGE — LETHARGIZING EFFECTS OF PAGANISM — PRIDE OF THE CLERGY — STRUGGLES OF THE PEASANTRY — PEASANT-INSURRECTIONS — RESULTS OF THESE REVOLTS — THE GOLDEN BULL — SYSTEM OF TAXATION — EXEMPTION OF THE NOBLES — RECENT PROGRESSION — DIFFICULT POSITION OF THE PEASANTRY — CODE OF MARIA THERESA — POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT — MORAL STATE OF THE SERFS — HATRED TO THE ARISTOCRACY—NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

VARIOUS conflicting statements, erroneous both in fact and tendency, have become current throughout Europe on the subject of the Magyar peasantry, their social position, national rights, and coerced condition; nor is it wonderful that such should be the case, for, although deeply desirous

to ascertain the true bearing of the question from the day of my arrival in the country, I have only just been enabled, through the kindness of a friend, on whose testimony the most perfect reliance may be placed, from his long and practical knowledge of the subject, to understand and appreciate the actual position of the Magyar peasant.

Civilization and Reason must ever go hand in hand; the one naturally impels forward the other; and as they move on over the nations, mankind awakens to a more just appreciation of his value and dignity in the creation; and even that portion of the community hitherto considered as a mere subordinate machine to be worked at will by the master-spirits of the more powerful, asserts itself amid the general progression, and claims its definite place in the great scale of human society.

The condition of the Hungarian peasantry has been often deplored, often discussed, and as often exaggerated and misrepresented. The errors which have been long suffered to exist in the laws relating to this important portion of the population, are a national disgrace which the

legislature are desirous to erase from the civil code; for the peasantry are therein designated *misera plebs contribuentium*, (the wretched tax-paying multitude,) and a brand is thus burnt into their spirits which may well tend to crush them.

The Liberal party in the Diet have lately made numerous and strenuous efforts to annul these iniquitous and degrading acts; but it is a painful fact that even in the nineteenth century there are still individuals to be found who cannot be brought to understand that the Almighty has stamped with his own nobility many of those whom they idly affect to despise, and that each and all are reasoning and sentient beings like themselves.

Thus there are a thousand deeply-rooted prejudices to overcome ere the national stain can be washed away; for, as, in the Arabic tale, the Chïek could no longer distinguish the blood which he shed, from his constant familiarity with its presence, so these narrow-sighted individuals cannot comprehend the enormity and injustice of the existing abuses of feudalism because their

vanity and their associations blind them to their irrationality and selfishness.

Wishes are invariably formed long ere circumstances admit of their being realized; and when on that realization must hinge the destruction of a deeply-rooted national system, flattering to the egotism of the great, it cannot be expected that the tree will fall ere the axe has been frequently and resolutely applied.

Public order requires that there should be many phases of society; reason admits no other state of human congregation; there must be a head, a body, and members, as much to a nation as to a human being; and the undue degradation or neglect of any portion of the fabric must necessarily weaken the powers of the whole.

When the Magyars possessed themselves of Hungary, they did not bring serfs into the country with them, but soldiers. Those to whom no grant of land was made were termed *servi* or *ancillæ*, serving-men; householders were called "*Vulgares*," and were placed under the protection of the laws by Stephen; while the conquerors amicably distinguished the non-Magyar

portion of the population by the title of *Hospites* or guests, probably as a set-off against the forcible possession which they had taken of their lands; a questionable courtesy at the best, and one for which it may be feared that the vanquished parties were never sufficiently grateful; but which was nevertheless carried to so great a height that even the Sclavonian labourers were, by the orders of Colomann, addressed in the same manner.

Despite the system of serfage introduced by the feudal laws of Stephen, the peasantry for some time enjoyed tolerable comfort; but the weakness of succeeding Kings allowed the selfish tyranny of the nobles to encroach upon their rights, contracted as they originally were; until excessive oppression having at length aroused their spirit, and driven them to an unsuccessful insurrection which was punished with the deepest degradation, and the most unsparing severity, they became crushed and cowed under the power of their masters; who in addition to the contempt with which they had been accustomed to regard them, thenceforward looked upon them with a feeling of distrust and suspicion, which rendered

them careless of their rights, and regardless of their sufferings.

Another great impediment to their social progress was the tenacity with which they clung to the delusions of paganism, and steeled themselves against the truths of Christianity; an obstinacy in which they were unhappily strengthened by the evil examples of certain fanatics who, even in those days no less than in our own, made the Gospel a cloak and an excuse for their ill practices, and professed to act under its authority when they persecuted others in order to further their own power; as in the case of Stephen himself, who, when converted to Christianity, had nothing more at heart than to increase his prerogative, and to levy taxes on his people, in imitation of the Jewish Kings in the Bible.

With the Christian religion was established the hierarchy of the church; and although the prudence of Stephen continually cited the simplicity of the Apostles in opposition to the pretensions of the priests, they nevertheless succeeded in establishing the validity of their claims. The King is stated to have said, "*Sacerdotes supra*

omnes laborant," and the apophthegm passed into a proverb; for the spiritually-intended words were soon perverted to a worldly sense, when enjoying the first dignities in the State, the "double labours" of the priesthood constantly tended to their own profit.

The rapacious churchmen obtained not only gold, but land. Kings became donors of great estates, or suffered them to be surreptitiously appropriated by the proud prelates about them; while the lesser servants of the church did not disdain to receive inferior parcels of the soil from the landholders whom piety or superstition led to propitiate by these means the favour of the hierarchy. Superadded to these donations were the tithes, which affected not only the fruits of the earth, but also the human beings by whose labour they were produced; and this cruel tax pressed heavily on the Hungarian peasantry; even without the additional burthen of the law, which devised one-ninth of the remaining product of the soil to the landlord in lieu of rent; a law which still exists, although in many instances an equitable equiva-

lent is accepted, and the peasant freed from its observance.

Thus the unfortunate peasantry struggled on amid taxes of every description, levied by the state, the clergy, and the county; and the only marvel (when everything is considered) is how they contrived to exist. Fortunately for them "the earth yields her increase" not only willingly, but abundantly; nature has been a beneficent mother to those who have depended upon her gifts in Hungary; most of the soil overflows with fertility; and they at least secured an existence by their toil, even if it were not brightened by comfort or independence.

The insurrections of the peasantry in Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, (the period of the first rising coinciding with that of the peasants of Germany,) exhibit a picture of cruel retaliation which it is sickening to recall. Much of the violence educed on these occasions may be attributed to the war against the Turks, and to the persecution which accompanied the promulgation of Protestantism; but the main object

of the insurgents was signally defeated. Instead of recovering their liberty, they did but drive the iron deeper into their flesh. That they should fail was a thing of course, for alike rude, undisciplined, and desperate, they were no match for the skill, and science, and prudence of their opponents; and even the temporary freedom which they had bought so dearly—the hour of emancipation which had been purchased by rebellion, and celebrated in blood—only made the fetters of oppression which they were compelled to resume, more hateful from the contrast.

The consequent position of the peasant, rendered more difficult by his own act, placed him in some degree beyond the pale of sympathy and assistance. A constant recurrence to his rebellion blunted the first, and a dread of its recurrence caused a withdrawal of the latter; and meanwhile the miserable serf struggled on beneath the overpowering pressure of burthens, which, according to the fundamental laws of the country, were not attached to the soil, but to the person of the tenant.

Although Stephen made strenuous efforts to

establish the monarchic principle on a solid basis, and that it even appeared to acquire very considerable influence, still much that was purely constitutional remained in the first government organisation; which was the more easily preserved that the interest of each tendency was opposed to the other: and while the monarchic principle gained ground, the nation (by which must be understood the nobility, who considered themselves as the sole representatives of the nation) strove to preserve their seigneurial rights unimpaired; and they consequently maintained intact the fundamental principle *fundo ne inheriat onus.*

This maxim, although not publicly laid down until the reign of Matthias II. (1608–19,) was the foundation on which were based the liberties of the Golden Bull: it withdrew altogether the national lands from the physiocratic control of the Government, but at the same time prevented all right in the peasant to possess landed property; a law which exists to this very day, contrary as it is to every principle of internal improvement.

This law can, nevertheless, be justified, both nationally and constitutionally; for while it en-

sures exclusively to the nobility the possession and property of the soil, it restrains all arbitrary landed taxation on the part of the Government; and may be considered as the corner-stone of the constitution, being the foundation of the unalienability of property, with which it unites the interests of the feudal sovereign.

It is simply and entirely this principle which establishes the personal obligation of national defence by means of Bandeira Levies, and furnishing recruits according to the number of members in each family, without reference to their landed property; and although, from the necessity of maintaining standing armies, the Bandeira have fallen into utter disuse, and levies have become rare, or altogether impracticable; and that, by the introduction of the before-named tax, (from which, under the Arpádian dynasty, all property was exempt, and which was first imposed on peasant-cottages under Charles Robert, these cottages having been previously registered in the reign of Maria Theresa,) this principle had been greatly weakened; and the last Liberal Diet of 1832–6 had enacted that every noble who

purchased a peasant's fief should be liable to taxation, whereby the reverse of the principle *fundo ne inheriat onus*, was brought into action; still the fundamental principle has not been entirely annihilated, since the right of property vested in the noble, and his exemption from taxation, have been recognized and ratified by the legislature. The nominal tax is nothing more than a measure approved by the States which has produced no result; and thence it must be considered as a personal burthen pressing upon the peasant or tenant, and not as a constitutional tax dependent on the arbitrary will of the Government; as well as an arrangement approved by the noble, of which he himself regulates the distribution among his tenants, and from which, according to his caprice, he exempts particular individuals.

Thus the Magnate proves this nefarious impost to be his personal work, by retaining in his own hands the power of its enforcement.

The steps taken both by the Government and the States, however, render it highly probable that the peasant will be at last completely emancipated. Many of the nobles, aroused by the

trumpet-blast of the times, have boldly advocated his cause, disregarding altogether the peril to which they thereby expose their landed rights; justly feeling that the arbitrary power of the Government is sufficiently controlled by the spirit of the Constitution and the influence of the Two Chambers; but the State arrests all precipitancy which may prove premature, under the conviction that property when transferred to a third person, incurs serious risk, unless due caution be employed in the transfer; and may ultimately even be lost to both parties; and accordingly it acts as a moderator; whether to the eventual advantage of each, time only can decide; and meanwhile there is every ground for hope, as moderation always brings forth good fruits, while passion too frequently scatters and withers what it searches to force into fruition.

Thus the position of the Magyar peasant is surrounded by perplexity, and yet the situation of affairs at the present day undoubtedly requires that something decisive should be resolved upon. Whatever that resolution may produce, it is certain that the only difficulty relates to the period

at which it will be brought to bear. The way is already prepared for the moral emancipation and social advantage of the peasant, the Government having at all times befriended him, and afforded him protection against the oppression of the nobles.

Maria Theresa first established his code of duties, and framed rules relatively to his position towards his landlord, and his consequent treatment; which, although too frequently disregarded, still exerted in the aggregate a very beneficial influence; and Joseph's admirable policy of making the aristocracy bear their proportion of the public burthens, prepared the way for a state of things which was calculated to approximate all ranks, and thoroughly to define the social relations of each.

These measures were, however, of course subordinate to the monarchic principle, which is now yielding to that of democracy; an engine wielded by the national States, and of which the springs have become more active and powerful of late, than they had ever heretofore been in the country.

The great question of the state of the Hungarian peasantry is, therefore, intimately united with the constitutional development of political life in Hungary; and it is earnestly to be hoped that it will be speedily decided, for the peasant naturally longs for relief, and his fair share of the enjoyments of existence.

The question has been repeatedly asked: "What are the inclinations of the peasant? and is he capable of estimating his position as a free member of a State, and a citizen, having duties to perform to the community?"

To this query no other honest reply can be given at this moment, than that from the defective nature of his education, he is utterly incapable of so doing; and that, moreover, he inclines more to the government than to the nobles; whose favourable dispositions towards him he cannot be brought to understand.

It is, moreover, certain that the early training of a vast number among them is entirely destructive of mental vigour, and that a state of entire liberty would with these soon degenerate into one of utter demoralisation; others again

are mere superstitious fanatics, and betray in all their actions and feelings the rudeness of their Asiatic origin; while it is equally certain that the comparatively limited number who have enjoyed the benefit of better instruction, are quite able to appreciate a better state of things, and well worthy to enjoy it.

Nevertheless, one general feeling of hatred towards the national aristocracy pervades the whole body; they cling to the Government, and reject the protection of the Constitution; for, mistaking the cause of the oppression which is a consequence of passing events, or rather owing to the circumstances of the times, they attribute it to the malevolence of the nobles with whom they are forced into contact, and detest them for exerting the privileges by which they feel themselves coerced.

This fact necessarily produces immense advantage to the Government; but, nevertheless, better prospects are now decidedly beginning to dawn upon the peasantry; for if, after the failure of the endeavour of the Emperor Joseph, amelioration by monarchic means is no longer to be hoped, it

will be effected by much surer means—those of the Constitution, which now pursues its steady course under the guidance of the Government, and with which the conservative principle is rapidly amalgamating.

Concession after concession will be the natural consequence of recent events; and the public burthens becoming obligatory on the whole nation, and consequently on the nobles, the plebeian will feel that he enjoys equality before the law, and, satisfied with this conviction, he will become a peaceful citizen or tenant. The German is habitually industrious and prudent, quiet in his habits, and persevering in his commercial pursuits; the Sclavonian is contented and laborious; and the Magyar, although haughty and imperious, is yet naturally obliging and generous; and unless purposely provoked, not easily excited to violence or rudeness.

Thus much generally upon the situation and condition of the Hungarian peasantry, considered merely as cultivators of the soil.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE URBARIA — POLITIC MEASURE OF THE GOVERNMENT—AGRICULTURAL REFORM — PEASANT SETTLEMENTS — OBLIGATIONS OF THE SERFS — RIGHT OF USUFRUCT—AGGRESSIONS OF THE PEASANTRY—SUPERNUMERARY FIEFS — AGRARIAN REGULATIONS—RISINGS OF THE PEASANTRY — GENERAL FEELING OF THE MAGNATES—PRIVILEGES CONCEDED TO THE TENANTRY—LEGAL RIGHTS—EXECUTIVE POWER OF THE RURAL TRIBUNALS—EXERTIONS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY—RADICAL REMEDY.

As a more circumstantial explanation of the relation in which the peasantry of Hungary stand to the State, and to the landed proprietors, cannot be without interest, I shall venture to pursue the subject still further; in order fully to demonstrate the actual position of this much-talked-of class of men, whose wrongs have been more frequently discussed than understood.

The laws relating to the duties and obligations

of the peasants are contained in a regulation which is called *Urbarium*. It is precisely similar to the legal relations of the serfs in other feudal states, and is consequently a product of the feudal system. These *Urbaria* have existed since the period when feudality obtained greater stability in the country, but they were never shaped into any distinct formula, and very frequently depended on a mutual agreement between the landlord and his tenant, wherein, as the weaker party, the latter was generally the loser, and sometimes to such an extent as to be compelled to abandon his farm. There are several laws which touch upon this subject, as also on the liberty possessed by the peasant to emigrate without paying "deduction-money;" a fine exacted by the landholder on such occasions, of which it was considered necessary to take cognizance at the last Diet.

Even during the reign of Leopold, the States were admonished to observe the *Urbaria*, and by no means to transgress them; and ultimately Maria Theresa, as I have already stated, caused the existing laws to be embodied in a code, and enforced their observance in 1760–70.

Notwithstanding, however, the vigilant control of the counties of the vice-regal administration, and even of the cabinet itself, which might be considered as so many tribunals for the decision of disputes between landlord and tenant, abuses crept in which could not be altogether prevented; and the *Urbarium* was frequently disregarded, especially by the minor gentry. Thence the Government was induced to grant to the peasant an unlimited protection, and the proprietors sometimes suffered in their turn; a fact which will not readily be lost sight of by the peasantry, and which greatly tended to strengthen the hands of the cabinet, for they had so long been accustomed to struggle singly against oppression, or to bow beneath it, that the extraneous support suddenly granted to them came like a blessing from Heaven, and spoke to their hearts in a language to which they will long hearken with gratitude and affection.

From this circumstance arose the fact, that when the plans of improvement, and projects of amelioration which had lain dormant since the year 1790 in the cabinet, were, on the repeated

solicitations of the country, taken into consideration, those relating to urbarial matters were judged worthy to be first brought under discussion.

I have already observed that the liberal spirit of the Representatives had induced them to resolve on a decided and vital reform in agricultural affairs; it being their intention to concede to the peasant the privilege of admission into the legislative body; but the fundamental law relating to landed property militated against this concession, and after a warning from both the Government and the Magnates, their bold and striking measure was abandoned.

It is devoutly to be wished by all the real friends of Hungary that the States had first achieved a satisfactory revision of the cabinet reform plans of 1790, and that the important effort which has just failed had been suffered to remain unmooted for a year or two longer, when the result would probably have been more favourable to both parties. Nevertheless, slight as the gain has proved in its result, it still furthers the steady system of progression now at work in the

country, as must be evident to all who have studied the subject with any interest.

Thus, for instance, the first part of the *Theresan Urbarium* treats of the property of the peasant, and the terms of his *settlement*. This settlement, i. e. the ground allotted to him for cultivation, differs, according to the situation of the county and district, and the quality of the soil, from sixteen to thirty-eight or forty *jochs*, or acres; the mean may be stated at twenty-four jochs of arable, and eight of meadow land, making together thirty-two jochs; which vary from eleven hundred to thirteen hundred square *klafter*,* depending on the value of the soil, and giving an average of twelve hundred square klafter per joch. That this may be the more easily understood, I must mention that a joch or acre of fertile land contains only eleven hundred square klafters, while there are thirteen hundred to every *joch* of barren soil.

In addition to this, the peasant is entitled to a

* One klafter measures six feet.

plot of ground for building his house, of the extent of two *mezen*—that is to say, as much surface as it will require two *mezen* of grain to sow, (probably about one acre;) such an extent of pasturage as the nature of the locality will yield to the rightful share of each individual; and the privilege of cutting the necessary wood for fuel wherever there is a forest. All additional land tenanted or occupied by a peasant is either what is termed a surplus, or supernumerary fief; that is, sessional, or capable of being given for cultivation to a peasant, in excess of the portion stipulated by the law; or cleared-ground, which is not sessional, but paying a special rent, and redeemable by the proprietor.

The obligations of the peasant to his landlord *per settlement*, are one florin annually as house-rent, and one *driving day* weekly; which signifies one day's labour both of himself and his horses on the lands of his lord; the poorer peasant, or cottager who occupies no additional land, pays annually one florin, and eighteen *going* days, or days of personal labour. Of all corn crops he pays one ninth to the landlord, and one tenth to

the clergy; and is further liable to the contribution,* enlistment, the construction of roads and bridges, and their repair, all the internal expenses of the country, the maintenance of the parish priest, the schoolmaster, and the constable of his village; and finally he is bound to furnish forage for the cavalry at a very reduced rate, and the Vorspann for an equitable remuneration—which last obligation can scarcely, however, be advanced as a hardship, the peasant frequently volunteering his horses to travellers in preference to working them in the fields, particularly if they chance to be strangers, from whom he never fails to obtain more than the stipulated sum, particularly if he be civil and intelligent.

The Vorspann is a great privilege at all times to foreigners travelling in Hungary, because it gives them respectability in the eyes of the local authorities with whom they come into contact, and control over their drivers; but as a mean of enforcing horses, it is scarcely ever necessary, save in the seeding or harvest seasons; as the

* A Government impost.

peasants cannot at any other period find so lucrative an occupation for either themselves or their animals, and consequently volunteer their services before any authority is exerted to secure them.

The list of obligations which I have quoted, amount however, without including the Vorspann, to a great burthen upon the peasantry, particularly those taxes which are imposed by the Government; but nevertheless where the tenant occupies from forty to fifty acres he can well afford to meet them; particularly in some of the more fertile districts, where little labour is required to insure an immense return; and where his liabilities are clearly defined, and justly enforced.

The land granted over and above the absolute right of the peasant, and which enables him to meet the imposts quoted, is not, according to law, to be considered as property, but simply as a privilege of usufruct; the soil belongs to the landlord; and although whatever is upon it, whether buildings or plantations, is certainly the property of the tenant, yet as none of them can be removed from the land, and disposed of separately, and as

too high an estimate of them might produce an additional burthen upon the soil itself, the landlords are always careful that in the event of sale or inheritance, no over estimate of these *superædificata*, as the law styles them, shall take place; and hence the property of the tenant is extremely precarious, as well as very difficult to define.

Even a cession of the right of usufruct, as an equivalent for it, was rendered difficult to the tenant by the nature of his lord's entail; and, in some instances, was only to be accomplished by consent of the crown as well as of the baronial family.

Hence, and consequent upon this difficulty, numerous excesses have been continually perpetrated by the peasantry, such as clandestine sales, and leaving encumbrances on their fiefs, and on the cleared grounds that they have rented; ruining the pasture-land by over-feeding it, and committing wanton devastations in the woods; and even where the fields of the landlord intersected those of his tenants, and the pasturage and wood were common to all, the landlord was still a sufferer; a fact to which the inordinate and misjudged pro-

tection afforded by the vice-regal administration to the peasantry very considerably contributed.

The small proprietors contrived in some degree, however, to protect themselves against these aggressions; and it was the Magnates and the great landholders who could not personally control and overlook their tenants who suffered the most seriously from these unnecessary excesses.

The greater the demand and value of produce, the more earnest will naturally be the exertions which are made to increase it; and thus, while the tenant strove as far as lay in his power to add to his possessions, so the landlord on his side endeavoured to derive a higher profit from his property. He accordingly introduced agrarian regulations, which are not only sanctioned but prescribed by law; and he did this the more anxiously as he was thereby enabled to convert the supernumerary fiefs into new fiefs, and to secure as allodial property the numberless cleared and rented lands which he was prevented by the *Urbarium* of Maria Theresa from taxing at an increased rate.

By these agrarian regulations many excesses

were at once suppressed, although in consequence of the defects of the agricultural laws, and the ground-improvement, which are not even noticed in the code, the tenant was too often reduced to beggary.

These regulations, framed in the spirit of the laws, could not be impeded in their action by the Government; which nevertheless always has had, and probably ever will have, a tendency to clog them; and this is one of the strongest and most powerful reasons why the peasant will lean to the Government, both his interests and his passions being engaged in the question; and moreover because, be the prospect of constitutional rights and privileges ever so alluring, it is the Government which endeavours to maintain for him his faculty of possessing land, which owing to the increase of the public burthens, is become more indispensable to him than ever.

Only a very small portion of the peasant's possessions has been regulated with this view, however; and as out of a hundred of the by-laws, there is probably not more than one which is advantageous to him, while ninety-nine are

distinctly prejudicial to his interests, without diminishing his public liabilities, such urbarial regulations only tend to convert distress into despair.

Numerous are the instances in which the peasantry have risen against these laws when their enforcement was attempted, and that too with such hopeless resolution that it has been found necessary to put them down by military force; and the poor ignorant peasant who has thus ventured to contend against a power by which he is sure to be ultimately overwhelmed, only increases the misery which he had unadvisedly striven to avert.

It is not so much the abolition of his servitude which the peasant desires, as to retain possession of his land, however illegal may be his tenure; or to recover it, should he have been dispossessed; and he accordingly clings only to that form of constitution which will uphold his claim, and erase from the code the regulations which militate against it. This the last Diet was unable to accomplish; although it promoted with much zeal and great success the interests of the peasantry;

and many members of the Lower Table have even declared themselves willing to relinquish their prerogatives of entail, and free right of possession; and to give to the peasant the same privileges which they themselves possess, if, by so doing, they can ensure general constitutional security, and limit the arbitrary power of the Government (now no longer identical with the person of the Sovereign,) and make it subordinate to the Chambers.

The Magnates (as I have elsewhere explained), divided into High Dignitaries of State, and Princes, Counts, and Barons not holding office, have been hitherto the organ of the Government, considering themselves as *Conservatives*, which they undoubtedly were at the last Diet, where a few hot spirits sought to run too rapidly in a race which is not always "to the swift;" but during the present session, those among the Magnates who are not shackled by appointments under the administration have awoke to the conviction that as good patriots they must unite with the Lower Table in strenuous efforts to support and strengthen the constitution of their country; and thus an oppo-

sition has been formed against the Dignitaries and placeholders which gives great additional embarrassment to the Government and to the Presidency.

This was without doubt a "consummation devoutly to be wished" by all the friends of Hungary, for thus alone could any rational hope be entertained of regulating the Diet, or of organising the right of voting in the different states; an undertaking commenced by Bela in the eleventh century, and subsequently in some degree promoted by Ladislaus in the fifteenth, when the Diet was in the same chaotic condition as at the present day; and it is undeniable that notwithstanding the unsettled state of the legislative body, and the great difficulties with which they have had to contend, it has done all that it was possible to accomplish for the liberty and interests of the community at the present moment.

The tenant has obtained, if not complete possession of the soil, at least of the usufruct; which he is entitled at his pleasure to sell by auction, to let, or personally to occupy, paying all the taxes to which it is liable; and thus a mean between

complete possession of property, and inability to hold it, has been satisfactorily discovered and arranged.

This concession brought the peasant a step nearer to the privilege of acquiring personal rights, and at the same time he obtained moreover the immunity of instituting a suit at law against whomsoever had injured him; not in the name of his landlord, nor of the County-Fiskal, as had been hitherto the custom, but in his own person or by proxy; by which arrangement he became virtually freed from the guardianship of his lord, attained civil independence, and made some progress towards the privilege of qualification as a legislator.

In addition to this boon, the quantity of arable and meadow land in each settlement (or *sessio*) having been alone stipulated, while the amount of pasturage was left undefined, and dependent on different casualties, a minimum of four, and a maximum of twenty-two jochs were fixed as belonging to each settlement, varying according to local circumstances; and finally, in order to give free scope to the cultivation of the soil, it was

decided that property might be so combined or divided into one or more large bodies both by landlord and tenant, as might best conduce to their own convenience; and that this arrangement should meet with every legal facility.

The tenants have also obtained permission to open shops wherever they think fit, on payment of a moderate rent; and also the entire abolition of what was called "the little tithe;" that is, the impost on domestic produce, such as eggs, chickens, and hog's-lard; nor are they compelled to render to the landlord more than their fixed duty. Nor, except in cases of excess threatening danger to the state, of perfect incapability to labour, or of absolute refractoriness, is a proprietor allowed to eject a peasant from his land; and an abuse of any of these privileges on the part of a landlord is punishable by a fine of two hundred silver florins.

Executive power has also been conceded to the local rural tribunals, which have now a right in the lately-established *procès-verbal*, and the faculty of executing their own sentences, which they did not formerly possess.

Thus everything that it was possible for the Liberal party in the Diet to achieve for this class of the community, has been accomplished; and the further measures necessary to give to the peasant perfect equality before the law, and to enable him to take his seat at the Lower Table, are thereby greatly facilitated; but meanwhile the right of possession and the privileges of the Nobles are comparatively weakened, whence no further steps can be taken, until this important constitutional principle has been firmly established, with all the formalities which circumstances and the times demand—When the peasant, gradually emancipated from his condition of servitude, attains to individual independence, to whom will he belong? Will he be a vassal of the Crown, or an integral member of the State?

This is a question to which the bias of European feelings and affairs will scarcely delay a very distinct reply. The days of vassalage are over—and it therefore becomes an important consideration that the multitude, which unless judiciously controlled, works not only the ruin of its rulers but its own likewise, should be prepared to act

with due moderation when it is admitted into the political executive body.

The future will decide in what manner the varying interests of the Government and the States will regard and regulate this common object.

The peasants will ere long loudly demand further concessions; for with those already granted, of which they cannot appreciate the political advantages, they are far from being satisfied. Many among them consider that their interests have been neglected because they are now required to pay their rents in silver instead of, as formerly, in paper;* and that the urbarial regulations are promoted, which they detest on account of their tendency to diminish their possessions; as well as that the feeding of cattle is, by the late pasturage-laws, rather limited than increased; and the union of various properties into one, is scarcely practicable where there are small farms of thirty or forty jochs, which are of more advantage to the landlord than to themselves.

* The silver florin is of the value of 2*s.*, while the florin in paper, or "apparent money" (schein), is only worth 10*d.* English.

I may here quote the instance of a small community chiefly consisting of petty shopkeepers, which has become very numerous, and is in possession of a great many cleared farms; their fief is considerably subdivided, and they once remarked to their landlord that the new law had dissolved the fraternal and filial relations between landlord and tenant, that it menaced them with a diminution of property, and that it was not calculated to promote their trade, while it threatened them with ruin unless they were allowed to redeem their obligations; but the landlord would not listen to their complaint, fearing that he might injure his heirs.

It cannot be denied that it is quite time to anticipate the demands of the peasantry, which will soon become imperative; for, the longer it is delayed, the more evidently does the proprietor distinguish the approach of danger to his landed interests; and the more does he consequently endeavour to turn his property to profit; and thus he wrings from the peasant whatever he possesses beyond the allotment of the Urbarium, and limits him strictly to its minimum; a fact by

which, combined with the depreciation of raw produce, and the complete absence of all industry, he is barely able to pay his rent, and to fulfil his other obligations.

The most decided and desirable remedy for these painful evils, to which the class the least able to contend against them are subjected, would, beyond all doubt, be applied, were the Noble to take upon himself his share of the burdens borne by the peasantry. It is well known that the Lower Chamber secretly approves of this measure, and has even given indications of a willingness to relieve them of the county taxes, which may be considered as equivalent to the contribution that they pay to the Government.

This would be a great and welcome alleviation of the grievances of the peasantry, and one with which they could not fail to be satisfied. The payment of the county taxes, and the reparation of the county buildings, bridges, and roads, which latter are in a most deplorable condition, would be more easily effected; and the peasant who makes the greatest use of them, would not be a sufferer from their state of pitiable neglect.

Certain it is that no mere palliatives will longer avail, but that a prompt and radical remedy must be speedily applied to the hardships and disabilities of the peasant; and this might be accomplished by an ordonnance for a general survey of the Kingdom, and an entire abnegation of the now inapplicable principle of *fundo ne inhereat onus;* an equitable distribution of the public burthens according to the capabilities of each individual; and the subjection of the State taxes to the revision and control of the Chambers.

CHAPTER XIV.

STATE OF AGRICULTURE — SOIL — WANT OF POPULATION — ROADS — FANCY-FARMS — NOBLE FARMERS — AGRICULTURAL ACADEMIES — BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF EXAMPLE — RUINOUS SYSTEM — NATIONAL LOCALITIES — CROPS — HUNGARIAN WINES — THE SEASON OF VINTAGE — DECREASED DEMAND — AMOUNT ANNUALLY EXPORTED.

THE transition from the peasant-laws of Hungary to a consideration of its agricultural condition is so natural, that I shall follow up my last chapter by a short sketch of the state of rural economy in this beautiful country; which requires only an increase of external commerce and encouragement to become one of the gardens of the world. The soil, varying in almost every district, enables the agriculturist to bring to perfection every species of natural produce not requiring a tropical climate; and so great is the abundance even at this period, when an immense proportion of the

lands are suffered to lie waste simply because the demand does not suffice to work them, that much corn is destroyed for want of magazines to house it, of sufficient home-consumption, and ready means of export.

In many counties both wood and stone are extremely scarce, and in some spots entirely absent, while stretches of deep sand render all conveyance of heavy loads a work of tedium and outlay; and thus the landholder finds it more expedient to leave his lands uncultivated, and to suffer his herds and droves to wander over them in search of a fitful subsistence, than to employ himself and his cattle in labouring to produce crops for which he can obtain no sale, without an outlay immeasurably too great to afford the most remote prospect of profit.

Nevertheless, the present state of agriculture in Hungary is so various and unequal that it cannot be condemned without injustice as altogether defective; for many exceptions exist in the country to the absolute neglect or mismanagement of the general system. On the contrary, the science may

here be seen in all its gradations, from the perfection produced by great outlay and constant labour, to the rude and primitive condition of soil, where nature appears to have yielded up her gifts rather in scorn of man's ignorance than in obedience to his skill.

Considered generally, however, it is not yet even in a condition of mediocrity; nor will this fact be by any means matter of surprise when it is remembered that the country is poor both in money and in credit; that it has little external commerce; that even its internal trade is restricted on some articles; that the demand for home-consumption is that of a needy and comparatively uncivilised nation, demanding necessaries rather than luxuries; and that the roads are bad, and the export-taxes on the frontiers so high as almost to amount to a prohibition.

All these circumstances combined naturally tend to paralyze the exertion of the farmer, who however rich he may be in cattle and produce, can never, while they exist, aspire to become wealthy; he must be satisfied to do the principal

part of his business by barter; and where all landed-proprietors are alike overstocked, the inconveniences of such a system are too obvious to require comment.

Many of the estates of the Magnates are already in a high state of perfection; the theories of Thaer and other celebrated German agriculturists having been steadily followed up; and the principles of English farming brought into profitable action, under the persevering and intelligent *surveillance* of the proprietor and his subordinate officers, where the Noble possessor of the soil chanced to have a passion for rural pursuits; and these estates will consequently bear a comparison with most of the best-managed land in Europe; while they differ from the "pet farms" of the English Aristocracy not more by their extent than by the varied nature of their produce. Not content with growing corn, feeding sheep, cattle, and pigs, and embracing vast stretches of well-kept forest-land or prairie, the "*economie*" of the enthusiastic Hungarian Magnate comprises refineries of sugar, spirits, and soda, establishments for improving the breed of horses and

cattle, and the production of different qualities of wool.

Among the most celebrated amateur agriculturists of Hungary are the Archduke Charles, the Prince Palatine, Prince Esterházy, and the Counts Festitits, Széchenyi, and Karolyi.

The late Count George Festitits, the founder of the first School of Agriculture at Keszthely, and Count Hunyady, assisted by his efficient friend and *employé* M. Appel, greatly assisted the progress of rural economy; and at the present day the Prince-Palatine and his able director M. Hörman, the Baron Eötvös, the Count Emerick Festitits, and M. Wittman, Director of the estates of the Archduke Charles, together with the geoponic school which that Prince has established at Altenburg, have given an immense impetus and opportunity of improvement to all young landholders.

The academy at Altenburg is considered to be at the present day superior to that of Keszthely, while a third has recently been founded by Count Karolyi at Rechnitz; and there is no doubt that the Hungarian Agricultural Society will also esta-

blish another at Pesth, in the centre of the country, where it holds its meetings.*

It is probable that ere long very beneficial effects will be produced both by the examples which I have cited, and by the increase of technical information afforded by these rural seminaries; but up to the present moment the peasant has continued, generally speaking, to be uninfluenced by either, and to pursue his avocations in the same rude manner in which they were conducted by his predecessors. This circumstance may be in some degree accounted for by the difference existing between the cultivation of an extensive estate, where no expense is spared, and no experiment left untried, and that of a small farm worked by a needy owner, who merely strives to turn it to account at the least possible outlay of both time and labour.

The Hungarian peasantry act in the aggregate upon this principle; they draw from the soil the

* It is an interesting fact that the first school of agriculture which existed in Hungary was formed near the end of the last century by the Protestant Minister of an insignificant village called Szarvas.

best crops which it will yield, nearly unassisted, for three consecutive years, and then they suffer it to lie for one year fallow; recommencing their exertions at the expiration of that time on the same exhausting system, let the nature of the land be what it may. Pasturage being common in each district, no attempt is ever made to improve it, as individual interests are not involved in its condition; and the animals having usually a vast surface to wander over, always contrive to secure an existence, which is all that is required by their owner.

There are nevertheless numerous gradations even in the agricultural system of the peasantry, which are dependent on the nation of the cultivator; the higher lands being almost universally better cultivated than the lower. Among the Carpathians, and to the foot of the range, nearly the whole of the rural population are Sclavonians: towards the termination of the Alps on the Austrian frontier (north-west) they are Germans, and in the lower lands Croatians; along almost the whole mountain-line eastward, and even in the plain as far as the river Theiss, the peasantry are Walla-

chians; while the central parts of the nation are cultivated by the Magyars themselves. Many Swabians are also to be found in the villages of Lower Hungary, who are renowned for their industry, and the superior quality of the corn which they produce in the Banat. The wheat grown in that province is universally admitted to be equal, even if not superior, to any grain in the country; and the quantity far exceeds in amount that of any other Hungarian district.

It will be at once apparent that this confusion of systems and languages must greatly conduce to the retardment of national agriculture; as no general understanding can take place, and individual prejudices consequently supersede the common good.

In the mountains the crops are very various. The Sclavonians grow flax, which their wives spin and weave, and which becomes an article of external commerce. The few Germans who are located among them cultivate not only flax, but also clover and poppies for home-consumption. I remarked too great quantities of hemp in the neighbourhood of Trenschin, some of which

was extremely fine. Vast quantities of fruit, particularly plums and apples, are likewise produced in the mountains; and the Syrmian Slivovicza, a brandy distilled from the former, is an article of ready and extensive sale.

The most important and valuable crop, however, is the wine-crop; vines cover the declivities of almost all the heights; and as vineyards, with some few exceptions, are not feudal property, and can never be taken from the peasant except under certain restrictions, which always involve a payment in full of their value, he is naturally partial to this description of produce, and frequently bestows great care upon its cultivation.

But, notwithstanding the excellent quality, the great variety, and the immense quantity of the Hungarian wines, the duties imposed upon them on the Austrian frontier amount to a prohibition, the tax being equal to the price of the wine itself; add to which the fact that the northern nations, Germans, Poles, and Russians, have of late years accustomed themselves so generally to the consumption of French wines, that the absence of nearly all external demand for those of Hungary

has necessarily induced a great carelessness in their production.

The vineyards are generally cultivated by the native Magyars, but a small proportion of Germans have also devoted themselves to this favourite avocation. Despite the laxity of the exterior trade, of which I have made mention above, several very valuable descriptions of wine are still produced in the country, and that too in quantities so enormous that before the fact was fully proved to me, I had great difficulty in believing it to be possible. If, therefore, such be the case in the present languid and depressed state of the market, what might not be the result to Hungary if she found a ready sale for her produce? The necessary impetus once given, the vintagers would put forth their strength; and not only the amount, but even the quality of the wines, would be increased by the additional care bestowed upon their production.

The superior qualities of wine grown in the country are, Tokayer, Ménes, Rust, Erlau, Villaner, Somló, Badacson, Sexard, Nesmil, and Dioszeg. The best descriptions of Ofner follow,

and of these there is also a great variety; those known as Alderberg, and "Turk's Blood," which are grown on the heights behind the city, are in much favour with the natives.

Many of these wines are admirably calculated for the English market, being what is technically termed sound, and full-bodied, as well as able to bear transport; among these the Tokayer requires no comment. Old Ménes, which is rich in quality, and of particularly fine and delicate flavour, may be purchased for from fifty to eighty silver florins the eimer.* Erlau is well suited to the English palate as a dinner-wine, being both fruity and strong; its price (when of the best quality) is from twelve to fifteen florins the eimer. Villaner, of the first class, commands from eight to fifteen; and the best Ofner fourteen florins for the same quantity. The most *recherché* wines of Hungary are the white; and the neighbourhood of Tokay produces not only the celebrated growth which bears its name, but also Tallya, Tarszai, Mada, and others, many of which are of superior quality; but a great portion of the

* An eimer fills about seventy Bordeaux bottles.

produce is very poor, and only consumed by the peasantry.

The process of making the different sorts of Tokayer is this:—the grapes are suffered to dry upon the vines, and are then piled lightly in casks which are filled up with a dry white wine. There they remain until they have absorbed it, when an aperture is made in the barrel through which the bloated fruit drips until it has discharged its juice—this is the essence of Tokayer, which *will not bear transport*, and is only used in the country to heighten the flavour of other wines. Next the grapes are pressed, and the liquor which they yield is the *Tokayer Ausbruch*, or Liqueur Tokayer, the finest description of wine known by that name. The common or second-class Tokayer is produced by a second infusion of the same grapes in a dry white wine, where after a time they are once more pressed; and thus the fruit is made available over and over again, until eventually the result is a poor, thin, acrid drink, as contemptible in quality as any other of the common wines of the country.

Including this inferior vintage, the quantity pro-

duced annually in the neighbourhood of Tokay, averages from two to three thousand eimers; and all which are worthy of transport require bottling.

Somló is another wine of great richness and flavour, and when old, and of a good vintage, is second to none on the continent; it brings sixteen florins the eimer. Dioszeg, which is very cheap, is one of the most agreeable of the class of sweet wines; it averäges only twelve florins an eimer.

The present prices for export from the depôts of Pesth is, by land to Trieste, guaranteed under three silver florins the eimer. The trade here are of opinion that it might, however, be exported by means of the Danube and the Save for about half that sum, should a steamboat be established on the last-named river.*

The year 1834 was so fertile in wine, that in many districts large quantities of grapes were left ungathered for want of proper vessels to contain the juice; and so cheap was it, that, for a halfpenny, a bottle of very tolerable quality might be purchased.

* For most of these facts I am indebted to the kindness of an eminent merchant of Pesth.

The vintage is in Hungary a season of great festivity, when dance and song, hunting and gaming, are pursued with unwearied avidity. The mountains of Tokay and Badacson are dotted over with pretty little pavilions, built for the reception of the proprietors and their families during the festival; and the greatest hospitality and *abandon* prevail until the close of the vintage. Every one who has good humour and good spirits to bring to the general stock of mirth, is welcome; and the revel begins with the dawn only to be continued deep into the night; the venerable Magnate and his haughty son alike throw by their *morgue* for a time, to whirl some pretty *bauern* maiden through the mazes of the waltz; and the aristocratic dame, whose lip curls with scorn at the least solecism committed in a courtly saloon, joins the merry throng, her slender waist clasped by the sinewy hand of a stalwart young vintager.

I remember returning from one of these fêtes late in the evening, when the twilight was just deepening into night, and the dusky and vine-covered hills presented nothing but one heavy

outline, when suddenly before, behind, and about us, flights of rockets rose into the air, and fell back in showers of evanescent jewellery. Not a vineyard but was alive with transitory light, and more enduring laughter: it seemed as though the whole country was one vast Vauxhall; and that the night had only fallen in order to further the festival.

Twenty years ago, ere the taste for French wines had obtained so greatly in the neighbouring nations, Hungary exported largely to Austria, Germany, and Poland, as well as to other countries; and this trade alone produced a great revenue; while the internal consumption was also very considerable; but at the present day the use of tobacco has superseded that of wine to so great a degree among the Magyars themselves, that not more than one-tenth of the quantity formerly consumed is now required even in the country.

These combined circumstances have naturally had a tendency to paralyse in a great degree the energies of the growers, and to render the produce infinitely less considerable than it might be, did exterior commerce encourage internal industry;

nor is it possible to ascertain precisely the aggregate amount now made, although I have used every effort to do so: the most feasible and moderate calculation (for which I am also indebted to the talented merchant already named) is this:— It is fair to believe that out of twelve millions of population, at least two millions will consume one bottle a day, making an aggregate of twelve millions of eimers a year, (allowing sixty champagne bottles to the eimer;) and that the exports to Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Russia, and Bavaria may collectively be estimated at four hundred thousand eimers; producing from four to twelve silver florins per eimer.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PUSZTAS — THEIR CAPABILITIES — A PEASANT'S WINTER — LABORIOUS WOMEN — HORSES — AGRICULTURAL INSTRUMENTS — COUNTRY-WAGGONS — FONDNESS OF THE HUNGARIANS FOR THEIR HORSES — SLOVENLY HARVESTS — A MAGYAR COTTAGE — COSTUME OF THE PEASANTRY — SCLAVONIANS — WALLACHIANS — POTATOES — TOBACCO — HEMP — FOREST-TIMBER — ABSENCE OR WANT AMONG THE SERFS — THE PETTY NOBLES — WEALTHY PEASANTS.

An immense quantity of corn is cultivated in the pusztas, and the herds of cattle which wander over the enormous tracts of pasture-land are, as I have elsewhere remarked, almost innumerable. The great extent and fertile character of many of these Hungarian prairies offer a source of national wealth, which requires only external encouragement to become of the most extreme importance. The Magyar peasants who cultivate

these plains, throwing off their characteristic indolence for a season, devote themselves to the production of their corn with great assiduity; and the extent of some of their crops, particularly that of the maize-fields, is extraordinary. From the month in which he sows his grain to that in which he puts his sickle to the harvest, the assiduous *bauern* gives himself no rest; but the crop is no sooner housed than he once more yields himself up a willing slave to his lounging and listless propensities. Nor must it be supposed that he toils alone even during his period of temporary activity; for the peasant women of Hungary exert an industry which must not pass without record. Whatever be the nature of the labour required, they are always ready to bear their proportion of the toil; and the plough and the sickle are quite as familiar to the hand of the female *bauern* as to that of her stronger-limbed husband.

The winter is the self-constituted holiday of the Magyar peasant; his period of repose and happiness; and the efforts must be great which induce him throughout its duration to interest himself in anything beyond the comfort of his

horses and cattle. To these he is ever a kind, a gentle, and a loving master; indeed to such an extreme does he carry his attachment to the animals about him, that it is a proverb in the country that could he draw as well as his horse, the Magyar would often do his work.

In some of the Hungarian districts the peasants have a breed of small but very fleet and beautiful horses; and notwithstanding the squalor of their dress, and the scant comfort of their cottages, they can rarely be induced to sell them; and then only at prices so enormous that they very rarely find a purchaser. Thus, making all his enjoyments and attachments rather hinge upon his poverty than subservient to it, the Magyar peasant may truly be said to be satisfied with the necessaries of life, and tolerably indifferent to its luxuries.

The agricultural instruments used in the country are very good; farm-vehicles are numerous in every comfortable village, each individual possessing two or three, according to circumstances, some of which are of enormous size, and capable of containing loads requiring six or eight oxen to drag

them. The animals are harnessed two abreast, and the driver walks beside them carrying a large whip which he flourishes in precisely the same manner as a French postilion, and with the same ear-splitting noise.. Many times have I been awakened in the summer nights by this sharp and reiterated report; and never doubting that some traveller of rank, whose drivers were thus warning the porter of our hotel of his approach, was about to take up his dwelling under the same roof with ourselves, have I risen from my writing-table, and throwing back the *persiennes* watched the arrival of a load of hides, or a waggon-load of wheat.

The whip is, however, (as I think I have said elsewhere,) rather a plaything than aught else; for the peasant loves his team too well to exert severity; they are his companions, his task-fellows, his friends; and, heavy as they look, they know his voice, and understand the *csály!* or *hoisz!* with which he encourages and directs them, better than animals of more animated appearance comprehend the oath and the lash.

The excess of produce and the paucity of population naturally engender great indifference, or

rather carelessness, in the getting in of the harvest. The crops are so abundant that the peasant is sure of garnering more than enough to meet all demands; and thus a slovenly habit of clearing the ground has obtained in all the most fruitful districts. Instead of conveying the grain away in waggons, he heaps the sheaves into small piles called *bagla*, and then surrounding them with a strong rope or a chain, which he tightens by twisting it forcibly with a piece of wood, precisely as the executioner uses the bolt in strangling a culprit, he attaches his horses to the heap, which frequently weighs from sixty to eighty *quintaux*,* and after collecting all the crop upon the same spot, he clears a space, which he levels, and upon which he treads out the corn with his team.

It is almost useless to remark that half the corn is lost before it reaches the treading-ground, by being thus roughly dragged over the stubble; but this is a circumstance which never troubles the peasant; he has still enough, and to spare; and has saved himself much labour in the process.

* A *quintal* weighs one hundred pounds.

His next care is to excavate a pit from six to twelve feet in depth, according to the extent of his harvest, into which he pours the grain in order to preserve it from the frost; and, this done, the Magyar has all the winter before him for enjoyment. His fields have provided him with bread; his wife has fattened her pigs; and he is enabled to pay his taxes both to his landlord and the Government, and to enjoy himself during the cold months over the produce of his own vineyard. The furniture of his cottage is scant and simple; a table, a wooden-bench, a capacious bed, and a goodly collection of jugs and glasses satisfy his ambition. All beyond these are superfluities provided by, and administering to, the vanity of his wife, which generally developes itself in the shape of snow-white curtains, and comfortable coverlets.

I believe that I have elsewhere (if I mistake not, in my sketch of Tyrnau,) described the dress of the peasantry; but then I confined myself to the peculiar costume of the district; I will now give the broad outline, as I have since been able to remark it. The Magyar wears a shirt and

pantaloons of white linen, the latter so wide as to form immense folds, and to resemble a petticoat; they are generally fringed at the bottom, and terminate a little above the ancle; though many of the peasants in bad weather tuck them into the large heavy boots which reach nearly to their knees. The shirt is a mere band with sleeves, terminating about the centre of the chest; and the blue cloth jacket, frequently embroidered in gay colours, which is worn over it, is of the same insufficient length; the pantaloons are drawn round the waist with a string like those of the Orientals; and the consequence of this incongruous arrangement to the Magyar is the exposure of a circular stripe of his naked body. A low and broad-brimmed hat of black felt, frequently turned up all round, and ornamented in the most fantastic manner, completes his summer garb. In a few districts he is clothed entirely in blue cloth, and wears spurs on his boots, but this is by no means common as a *national* costume. Over these ill-sorted garments he flings in winter the bunda which I have already described.

The Sclavonians affect no foppery of dress,

and make the most squalid appearance of all the peasant-population of Hungary. Their costume is universally a very short cloak of brown cloth, pantaloons made tight, of a dingy white cloth, and coarse, ungainly sandals of leather, strapped over pieces of woollen or surge. The Sclavonian peasantry have more aptitude and fondness for commerce than any other colony in the country save the Germans. They live in the most penurious manner, and are generally very poor. One great article of their industry is cheese, for which they are famous; that of Liptó is considered the best, and is almost equal to the Italian Strachino, which it greatly resembles.

The Wallachians are the least civilized or progressive inhabitants of Hungary; they occupy themselves principally in the production of maize, of which they cultivate immense tracts: all their clothes except their hats and sandals are made by their women, who are proverbially industrious.

Large quantities of potatoes are grown all over Hungary, except in the tract of country beyond the Theiss, where they are as yet scarcely known.

Tobacco, like corn, may be cultivated without restriction, and is a favourite crop with the peasantry. It grows freely and plentifully in the pusztas, and is extremely beautiful to the eye.

The qualities produced are excellent; and large exports were formerly made to Germany, Italy, and France; but Austria ruined this branch of Hungarian commerce by the enormous duties which she levied upon it on her frontiers; and it became a Government monopoly; Austria purchasing the produce at a very reduced rate, and mixing it with tobacco of an inferior quality, which was manufactured at Hainburg, and afterwards retailed throughout Bohemia, Styria, and Italy at a high price. Subsequently the duty was greatly reduced, but it was too late to repair the evil, as the American tobacco had replaced that of Hungary in the foreign markets; and the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this branch of industry, exists in the fact that the Government itself is no longer able to make an advantageous bargain with the growers, but is compelled to purchase through the great speculators, at the head of whom is Baron Sina.

The general character of Hungarian tobacco is extreme mildness; and no smoker in the country will make use of any of the weed which has undergone scientific preparation. There are qualities of it, which from their fine aroma, have been esteemed superior to the tobacco of Turkey.

Only two years ago the Hungarians universally used pipes, which were a source of great luxury and outlay; now, however, the fashion of cigars has been introduced, and they import them even from the Havannah. This folly may easily be accounted for in the proneness of human nature to prefer the new and the strange to the familiar and the tried; but it cannot alter the fact that when the Hungarian tobaccos become known, their fine qualities, and their extreme cheapness—the best averaging about 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.—will not fail to render them a prominent feature in the national commerce.

A great deal of hemp is cultivated in Lower Hungary, near the Danube; and this article of produce is well calculated for the English market, being remarkably good in quality; but as much labour is required to bring it to perfection, and

the demand has not hitherto been commensurate, it has not yet been produced in the quantities of which the soil is capable.

The extensive forests have as yet added little either to the comfort of the population, or the increase of the revenue; for the absence of hands to fell the timber has caused them to be abandoned to the inroads of decay. This is the more to be deplored as the inhabitants of the pusztas suffer severely from the want of fuel, and there are large tracts of country where the peasants are compelled to make their fires of straw and the dry excrements of their cattle. In the mountain-districts where some of these vast forests are situated, the wood is employed in the glass-houses, and is burnt for potash.

Knopperns are also collected in immense numbers, and form a great article of internal commerce;* and innumerable herds of swine are

* The *Knoppern*, called by the Italians *Vallonea*, is an excrescence which forms upon the acorn of a particular species of oak common in, and, with the exception of some Italian districts, peculiar to Hungary. It is a hard, dark, irregularly-shaped substance, which often entirely covers the nut. Is used in dyeing and tanning,

driven into the oak forests to fatten on the acorns, particularly in the neighbourhood of the rivers Muhr and Sau, where they form the principal portion of the peasant's wealth.

The general condition of the Magyar peasants is far less pitiable than their appearance would lead a stranger to believe. Absolute want is almost unheard-of among them; and the real misery which persons who have not studied the subject imagine to exist in the cottage of the *bauern*, will be found far more readily under the roof of the *bokskoros nemesek*, or petty nobles, who in some instances people whole villages; and by whom, through an attenuated subdivision of property, and a false sentiment of haughty indolence, much and severe penury is frequently endured.

There are peasants in the country who grow from four to five hundred metzen of corn, own

and has altogether superseded bark for the latter purpose in this country. It is exported to Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia. The annual produce is estimated at a hundred thousand quintaux, the exports for the same period at thirty thousand; and the price varies from five to seven silver florins the quintal.

from thirty to forty head of cattle, and twelve or fifteen horses; for one of which they will ask from two to three hundred silver florins. When Prince Esterházy goes out deer-stalking at Ozora he has a thousand horses in his suite belonging to the *bauern* on his domains; and the Count Karolyi at Vosárhely when he indulges himself in field-sports is attended by as many mounted tenants.

All this will seem very extraordinary to many of my readers, but I pray them to remember that *le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable!*

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DANUBE—SUMMER AT PRESBURG—MR. TIERNEY CLARK'S BRIDGE—AUTUMN ON THE RIVER—WINTER — FIRST EFFECTS OF FROST — REMOVAL OF THE BRIDGE OF BOATS — INCREASE OF THE ICE — BOATMEN ON THE DANUBE—DIFFICULTY OF CROSSING — WALKING ON THE ICE — SUDDEN THAW — FROST-FANCIES—ROOKS—DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ICE.

I MUST leave for awhile both law and literature, politics and peasants, in order to devote a chapter to the strange, wild, season-changes which have passed over the Danube since our first arrival in the country, for it is truly a subject well worthy of comment.

I had been told, when I loved to linger on the bridge at Presburg, or on the heights which dominate the city, looking out on the broad river flooded with sunshine, and crisping in the light, that I could not form any idea of the spectacle, or rather series of spectacles, presented by the majestic

stream during the winter months: and it is certain that although many of the frost-effects which I have since witnessed were frequently, and even graphically described to me, I had never made a mental sketch of these extraordinary phenomena which at all approached the reality in magnificence and novelty.

During the summer months I talked lightly of the advantages of the proposed suspension-bridge of Mr. Tierney Clark, thinking a vast deal more of the effect which it would produce in the landscape, than of the imperative necessity which existed for its erection as a matter of national expediency and popular convenience; but at this moment, were it destined to be one of the most unsightly instead of the most graceful links that ever bound two shores together, I should most heartily pray for its existence without wasting one thought upon its symmetry.

Its broad bosom rippled by the breeze, and its swift current dashing down, swelled as it hastened onward to the Euxine, by the tribute-waters of a score of minor streams, were the distinctive features of the Danube in the "lovely,

laughing, leafy month" of June. Its banks were fringed with forest-trees, or rich with vines, or gay with wilding blossoms, or alive with towns and villages; onward, onward it swept, rejoicing in its strength, belting its hundred islands with liquid silver, and forming a noble and changeful mirror for the bright skies, and a plaything for the fresh breezes.

It grew a shade more troubled when Autumn fell upon the earth: its waters took a duller stain, as though the sunlight which still shimmered on its surface, no longer sought its depths—the shadows of the heavy clouds in whose folds the thunder was hidden, lay long and dark upon the ripple even after the storm had passed; and the leaves which were shaken from their boughs by the first pinching winds, sailed on dully and dankly when they fell into the stream, like a fleet of witch-barks bearing the cold tidings of the earth's changing aspect to the wild billows of the "Sea of Storms."

And then came Winter: but for awhile the mighty river spurned at the frost-chains which were flung over the world: the snow-flakes which

fell upon its bosom, melted as they touched the ripple, and only added to its volume; while the earth wore the cold livery in passive impotence. The princely palace and the cotter's hovel, the sheltered valley and the lordly mountain, were alike subject to the season, and sealed with its authority; but the swift stream still hurried on, only seeming a shade darker and more dull than ever, as it rolled between the snow-laden banks in gloomy majesty.

But gradually even the Danube began to betray symptoms that the laws of nature are not to be evaded; for occasionally a small substance would be seen floating along the current, looking like the cambric 'kerchief of some dainty dame, cast from her in an hour of sport; they were so dazzlingly white, and light, and seemingly impalpable. These were indeed but small plates of ice laden with snow, which had been driven down some minor stream; but they melted away no longer; a chill had come over the parent-river, and they lay upon its breast as cold and pure as they had reached it.

This was the signal for the removal of the

bridge of boats to which frost is fatal; and the first step taken towards its disappearance was raising the anchors of every third boat; for which purpose two large barges densely manned were in full activity from day-dawn until night. The next was removing the footpath which on either edge is divided from the carriage-way by a fence breast-high; and these two arrangements made, the remainder of the fabric was allowed to stand until the last moment. That moment arrived about midnight, when we were awakened from our first sleep by a confusion of noises for which we found it quite impossible to account; shouts, laughter, and the dragging of heavy substances along the frozen and echoing earth, were blent with the continuous blows of a multitude of heavy hammers; and on hastening to the window to discover the cause of the uproar, we found that one-third of the bridge had already disappeared; and that the shore was crowded with soldiers, workmen, and idlers, whom we saw distinctly under a clear and beautiful moonlight.

Detachments of the military were employed in removing the ponderous timbers by means of

ropes, from the river-side, and this was the dull sound which we had heard; while the mirth which pervaded the whole party was perfectly contagious; and we returned to our beds, when the bitter cold drove us from the window, as much amused as though the business of the night were not to entail upon ourselves and all our acquaintance an infinity of inconvenience.

On the morrow when we rose not a vestige of the bridge was to be seen; Buda and Pesth were two distinct cities; and as we gazed over the broad cold river upon the heights of the opposite shore, we breathed a fervent prayer for the success of Mr. Tierney Clark's undertaking.

The next symptom of the working of the magic wand appeared along either lip of the banks, where a thin crisp line of ice, feathered into delicate outlines by the action of the ripple, grew from day to day broader and more defined; and as it widened, the centre of the stream became gradually laden with variously-sized and irregularly-shaped masses, sailing along like snow-islands; occasionally driven into contact by the fierce action of the current, and parting again

with a crashing sound; and sometimes hanging against the banks, and forming new impediments to the progress of the floating masses.

When the ice had once attained this point, its increase was rapid; and the passage of the boats to Buda began to be extremely difficult. I made one voyage across: sometimes we rowed quietly but slowly through the water; and occasionally we jerked and crashed through the thin sheets of ice; but as yet there was no inconvenience to encounter beyond delay, which, however, at a temperature of twelve (Reaumur), was of itself enough to try one's philosophy.

But ere many days had passed a *trajet* to Buda was no longer a thing to be so lightly undertaken. A broad line of ice, massed and heaped together, sheet piled on sheet as the current drove it onward until some unconquerable obstacle rooted it on a particular spot, was formed along both the shores; while the centre of the river was still cumbered by the moving masses to which I have already alluded, and amid which channels of water appeared in every direction. Still, however, like a defeated giant, the river vainly struggled against

its bonds; conquered, but not subdued; and the impetuous current whirled onward its unwelcome freight, which crashing, shocking, and parting in wild and strange confusion, yet gradually increased and spread over the whole surface of the stream, leaving only dark glimpses of the labouring water between the sharp and unequal edges of the icebergs.

This state of the Danube is that for which the hardy boatmen look with intense anxiety; and which, did it depend upon their prayers, would endure for months. It is their season of labour, but it is also their harvest of profit; while to the mere spectator, whose business or whose pleasure does not beckon him to the opposite shore, but who can look abstractedly upon the scene, it is one of the most interesting sights imaginable to watch their bold and skilful contention with the troubled and laden river.

When the ice has gathered into the solid masses which I have attempted to describe, the roomy barges which immediately succeed the removal of the bridge, and which are capable of conveying thirty persons across together, are superseded by

small light boats, each manned by four men, and calculated to receive two passengers. These boats are hired by individuals whose avocations or whose caprices induce them to pass the river, occasionally at a very heavy price; which is by no means astonishing, when the immense labour to the boatmen is considered. The demand varies from five or six shillings to a couple of pounds, according to the state of the floating ice; and the terms once arranged, the passenger seats himself in the little bark moored under the bank, and the crew immediately commence dragging him over the ice-belt towards the centre of the current.

Were this frozen surface level, the affair would be a very simple one; but, as I before stated, the ice is piled mass upon mass, sometimes to the height of a man; and is altogether so rude and uneven, that were the hands less firm, and the eyes less steady, which urge forward the boat, it must inevitably be overturned more than once before it reached the point where the real difficulty of the passage commences. This, as must be at once apparent, is where the current, yet unfrozen, rushes past the frost-fringe with its un-

wieldy load; and the boatmen usually wait at the extreme edge until they perceive what they suppose to be a favourable moment for launching the boat. This is when a line of water separating two sheets of ice, gives them an opportunity of rowing for some distance ere they are again compelled to leap from the boat upon another mass, and to drag their little bark across it as it sails down with the current, in order to launch it again on the other side; and they repeat this ceremony until the line of ice skirting the opposite bank is gained.

As the boat is jerked off the ice into the water, a couple of the men frequently fall in with it, but they are so expert, that after the plunge they throw themselves on board; and scarcely an instance has ever occurred of an individual losing his life from this accident.

The greatest danger attendant on the passage is when the ice-sheets have not acquired sufficient consistency to support the boat and its freight, but suffer it partially to break through; in this emergency the crew utter the cry of "*julay, julay*—rock, rock," when all the persons sitting

in the boat commence swaying their bodies from side to side, in order to cut through the ice with the sharp edge of the keel; and where this succeeds in a reasonable time the passage is effected without danger; but it must be remembered that during the process, the ice by which they are hampered is driving down the current; and that, consequently, the longer they are imprisoned by each mass, the further they are carried from the city; and thus frequent instances occur of parties being missing for hours.

It is unnecessary to expatiate on the singular and interesting appearance of the river with half a dozen of these boats moving along the ice under the banks, or struggling among the floating masses; and when you have watched one as it put off, it is almost impossible to leave the window until it is either carried beyond your sight, or safely landed on the other shore.

This year another phenomenon took place which was as new to the natives as to ourselves; the ice formed across the whole bed of the river opposite Alt-Ofen, and the large loose masses which had escaped fixture continued to drive down with the

current, leaving the narrow channel between the ice-banks on either shore perfectly clear. Twenty-four hours after the junction of the ice which I have just named, the river also froze across opposite to the Blocksberg, and thus the extraordinary spectacle was presented of a canal stretching in front of the city from suburb to suburb, and terminating abruptly at each extremity in a frozen lake; and while passengers were plying in boats between Buda and Pesth, a little below the point where the new bridge is to be placed, crowds of people were traversing the river on foot about half a mile higher up. Such might also have been the case at the Blocksberg had it not been for the fact that three hot springs, after feeding the baths in Lower Buda, empty themselves at that point into the Danube; and such is their power, that although the water freezes above them, the ice never becomes sufficiently firm to render the passage safe.

This state of things only continued three days, however; and we determined to perform the feat of walking to Buda and returning in a boat the same morning, before any further change took place.

We fortunately fixed on the lucky moment, for the following day the thaw commenced; and it was no longer considered safe to trust to the icy path. The appearance of the river over which we passed on our somewhat perilous undertaking was singular in the extreme; the ice had taken such various and fantastic shapes that there was scarcely an object on earth or water which the frost had not produced in wondrous mimicry.

The thaw was during forty-eight hours so very slight that no idea was entertained of a general breaking up of the ice; and the astonishment of every one may be imagined, when between three and four o'clock of the afternoon of the 22nd of January, with one great crash the whole mighty mass splintered into separate sheets, and all was once more in movement.

So sudden was the shock that some persons walking along the bank of ice which I have described as stretching from the shore to the clear channel in the centre of the river, at the point of embarkation for Buda, had barely time to rush back again to the quay, ere all which had seemed

so solid a moment previously, was floating down the current in unwieldy and broken heaps.

The sun had acted so powerfully upon the frost-path during the morning, that planks had been placed along the whole line for the use of the passengers, who must otherwise have been inconvenienced and even endangered by the slight and slippery thaw. These planks terminated at the water's edge in a small wooden pier; and it was curious to see all the pieces of timber disappear one after the other, as the bodies of ice separated, and they fell through and vanished beneath the superincumbent weight.

When they had entirely sunk, or become undistinguishable in the distance, the scene was beyond description beautiful. The sky was blue and cloudless, and a sun which would have done honour to a May morning was beaming down, and turning the fairy frost-work into crystals.

Strange and wild were the passing shapes which sailed by like visions,—pigmy cities, churches with towers and steeples, ruins, and rocks, and

bristling fortresses—groups of men and animals—caverns and coral-reefs—in short, recapitulation would only produce a string of substantives well calculated to weary, for I cannot paint in words the extraordinary features of this moving panorama, with the least hope of bringing them before the fancy; for, while to those who have never witnessed a frost-scene on a grand scale, I shall appear to degenerate into exaggeration, I feel conscious of my own incompetence to do it justice.

During an hour small bombs were fired off at intervals from four different points on each shore to warn the neighbourhood of the failure of the ice. One of them was immediately under our windows, and we were nearly deafened at every concussion.

Less picturesque and infinitely more painful were the next objects which attracted our attention. The duration of the frost had been so brief that the precautions which are annually taken by the fishermen and others connected with the river, at the breaking-up of the ice, had been for awhile neglected; and when the crash came there was no longer time to remedy the evil. A

fleet of fishing-boats first floated down, now moving steadily along, now jostled by the ice-heaps between which they were wedged—then a couple of ferry-barges, broken loose from their moorings, driving broadsides on, recklessly and hopelessly towards their destruction—and next a water-mill, such as I have described them elsewhere, mounted between two boats. This was an object of deep and intense interest, for we could distinguish men on board of her—and they could see a city on either hand—fellow-creatures in hundreds—but not a hand to stay their perilous progress! We watched them eagerly and painfully, until they drifted beyond our sight, probably only to perish amid the icebergs in which they were entangled!

Flights of rooks settled upon the ice, and floated down with it for a considerable distance; returning as the mass upon which they had congregated rounded the base of the Blocksberg, and establishing themselves upon another heap only to repeat the same manœuvre. I saw one division of these birds perform this strange movement five times in succession, without finding

any one who was able to explain the cause of so singular a circumstance.

When we retired for the night, frost islands of every size and shape were still succeeding each other, and keeping up a crashing sound more peculiar than satisfactory; and the following morning artillery were firing into the ice when the masses in which it was floating down threatened to cause mischief; by midday the broad river was comparatively clear, the heaps on either hand having become less bulky; and as a fierce southerly wind ruffled the surface of the turgid water, the barges once more began to ply between the two cities, although great quantities of ice continued to descend for many days.

The Danube had thrown off its chains for the season; the subsequent slight returns of frost being mere pigmy bonds, to which if it submitted for an hour, in the next it cast them away as a child flings off the silken thread with which it has for a sportive moment suffered itself to be fettered by some laughing playmate.

CHAPTER XVII.

MARSHAL PETRICH—HIS HUNGARIAN SKETCHES—ORDNANCE OFFICE — PLAN OF THE DANUBE — EFFECTS OF THE INUNDATION — WIDTH OF THE RIVER — M. FERENCZY, THE HUNGARIAN SCULPTOR—HIS CAREER — HIS PRINCIPAL WORKS — HIS ATTACHMENT TO CANOVA.

We were one day agreeably surprised by a visit from Field Marshal Petrich, the elder brother of our amiable fellow-traveller from Constantinople. The Marshal is now in retirement, and resides in Buda; after a life of active service in the Engineers. Pleasant as this acquaintance proved, I should not, however, have mentioned it here, as it was only one among many of which the remembrance will always be "a green spot" in our memories; had it not been that he is so admirable an artist as to render it impossible to pass over in silence a morning spent among his beautiful and interesting

drawings. One portfolio contains no fewer than four hundred and sixty views in Hungary, and judging from those with whose subjects we were familiar, I should imagine that probably no other draughtsman had ever succeeded in so thoroughly delineating the features of the country. One fine bold sketch of Vissegrád, by which I was especially struck, was gallantly presented to me by the Marshal, and gives a correct and noble idea of that regal ruin.

From his residence we proceeded to the Ordnance Office, having obtained permission, to see the large plan of the Danube which has been taken by order of the Government. It is on an immense scale, and is beautifully and carefully executed.

The measurement of the river was commenced near Petronell in Austria in the year 1823, and has progressed as far as the Iron Gate between modern Wallachia and Servia, commonly called *Ger-dap*, near the Wallachian village of *Szát-Simian*, and within a short distance of Trajan's Bridge. The measurement has been made up to this point entirely by Hungarian Engineers, paid

by the Government, and acting under the especial protection of the Archduke-Palatine; and its object has been the foundation of a perfect system of river-regulations, to be locally carried into effect as circumstances may render their operation expedient.

In addition to the course of the river through the kingdom for the extent of $669\frac{2}{10}$ English miles, all lands subject to occasional overflow, (sometimes to the breadth of three geographical miles,) have been likewise surveyed and measured; the river from Petronell to Szát-Simian levelled; and its transversal sections, with its power of speed, from about twenty to thirty chains, everywhere taken.

The extreme politeness of M. Hieronymi, the Ordnance Director, and the courtesy of every individual connected with the establishment, enabled us to linger for a couple of hours over this very interesting plan; by which we were enabled to form a more perfect idea of the extent of the Inundation of 1838 than we could otherwise have had, all the flooded territory being exactly marked out. As I felt some curiosity to know the exact

width of the river at the points whence the city suffered the most severely, one of the secretaries noted them for me, and they stood thus:—

Opposite Margaret Island	460	toises.
At the Bridge of Boats	220	„
Off the Blocksberg	165	„
At Csepel Island,* about two leagues below Pesth, which was entirely covered with water	700	„
Near the Casino, where the Suspension Bridge is to be built	230	„

By this measurement it will be at once palpable that the rapid narrowing of the river where

* This Island, on which there is a market-town and several villages, as well as detached farms, was once modestly requested from the King by the Monks of a religious house at Buda, as a kitchen-garden for the supply of their community. Had they asked for Margaret Island, although the demand would even then have been tolerably exorbitant, a *possibility* of the Royal compliance might have existed; but the Csepel would have somewhat taxed the "spade-husbandry" of the worthy brotherhood, as well as the pious liberality of the Monarch. This island was swept from end to end during the inundation, and scarcely a building left standing; nor did the waters retire from it for a considerable time afterwards.

it turns the point of the Blocksberg, caused the fatal piling of the ice which threw back the struggling waters upon the city; the thick-coming masses having entirely choked up the channel; while the next impediment off the island of Csepel, where a shallow occurs in the Danube, prevented the discharge of the ice which the increased width of the river's bed might otherwise have favoured, and threw all the mighty ruin upon the island itself, which it swept from end to end; leaving it, when the waters receded, one wide waste, without vestige of culture or inhabitation.

Our next visit was to the *atelier* of M. Ferenczy, a native sculptor, where we were much interested by the busts of several Hungarian *notabilités*. M. Ferenczy is an artist of considerable talent, with a very vigorous chisel. His likenesses are astonishing: there is no mistaking them for a moment. Two busts, the one of M. Balogh, the *ci-devant* celebrated Deputy now under process, and the other of Madame Schodel the *prima donna*, were the most perfect resemblances I ever saw in marble.

Unfortunately for M. Ferenczy, his patriotism led him to the belief that in a country so rich in every description of produce as his own, he might become independent of Carrara, and immortalise Hungarian genius in Hungarian marble; and he accordingly set forth upon a pilgrimage to ascertain this fact, which ended in his finding what he sought; but of so very inferior a kind that many of his best works are ruined by the coarse quality of the material in which they are wrought.

Ferenczy was born at Rimaszombal in 1792, where his father followed the trade of a locksmith; and the son commenced his career as an apprentice beneath the paternal roof, where he continued to practise his art until the age of eighteen, when he was transferred to Buda, to perfect himself under Andrew Balás, a man eminent in his calling. With him he remained until 1811, when he departed for Vienna, and became a constant visitor to the Academy of St. Anne, impelled by some awakening of the spirit to feel that he was destined to higher duties than those of his trade.

He began at this time to try his strength by

engraving upon copper and steel, and modelling in wax; and during the succeeding three years he several times carried off the prizes at the exhibitions; while M. Thurier, the proprietor of a manufactory of steel, appreciating his nascent genius, kept him in constant employment.

One day he sauntered into the Chapel of the Augustines; and, unconscious of the surprise which awaited him, suddenly stood before the monument of the Archduchess Christina, the *chef-d'œuvre* of the immortal Canova. In an instant the soul of the artist swelled within him; he had found the realization of his life-vision—the shadow which had so long flitted vaguely before him had taken "a local habitation and a name"—it had become palpable and tangible: he might pass every leisure hour in feasting his eyes upon a treasure which could no longer escape him; and for a time this deep and silent enjoyment sufficed to render him happy; but after awhile he became restless and melancholy, disgusted with his pursuits, and eager for fresh excitement; and he dreamt only of Rome and Canova, until poor and friendless as he was, he could no

longer control the impulse which drove him on, but started for the Imperial City, where he arrived in the spring of the year 1818 without a single introduction. The simplicity of genius taught him, however, at once how to proceed; to him Rome was not Rome without Canova; and he had not achieved anything until he had looked upon the master-spirit who had called up all the energies of his soul.

He proceeded to the *atelier* of the great Sculptor; he presented the certificates of the success which had attended him at Vienna; and Canova at once engaged him in his workshop, where he was surrounded by the great and the beautiful in art, and began to live a new life. He laboured incessantly with a devotion and an energy which brought their own reward, for they attracted the marked attention of his immortal master, who soon took a sincere interest in the progress of his enthusiastic pupil, and encouraged him to open an atelier, and to commence business for himself; promising him at the same time his advice and assistance. Ferenczy gladly embraced the suggestion; and labouring in his vocation beneath the eye of Canova he felt

that all the aspirations of his nature had been heard and answered.

While he was thus situated the Princess de Kaunitz, the wife of the Austrian Ambassador at Rome, who had accorded her countenance and protection to the young Hungarian artist, and who preferred the Danish Thorwaldsen to the Italian Canova, directed him at the termination of three months to place himself under the tuition of the former.

Thorwaldsen, in order to test the powers of his new pupil, gave to him a block of marble three palms in length, and one and a half in width, leaving him at liberty to work it as he thought proper. Ferenczy, disdaining all extraneous preparation, at once took up his chisel, and without previous study wrought in the marble itself a *bas-relief* representing Cupid surprising Venus, and carrying away her mantle.

Thorwaldsen and his pupils admired alike the invention and the energy of the young artist; but when he displayed his production to his new master, he was nevertheless met by a cold declaration that nothing great could ever be achieved in

so crude a manner; and that before the chisel was applied to the marble much previous study was necessary.

Obedient to the dictates of Thorwaldsen Ferenczy accordingly laboured patiently and methodically under his eye; but by the advice of Canova he nevertheless continued to produce in his own little *atelier* small works of fancy and invention.

It was at this time that in about six months he wrought the bust of Csokonaï, a Magyar poet, which must have been somewhat startling to the "divine masters" of his art, for the bard is duly invested with the national pelisse and moustache, and presents altogether so different an aspect from the classical productions of purer chisels, that the Prince-Palatine of Hungary during a sojourn which he made at Rome was at once struck by its peculiarity. The Archduke enquired for the young Sculptor, and with that discriminating generosity of spirit and lucidity of judgment which have so justly endeared him to the Hungarian nation, at once detected the talent of the youth, and enabled him to pursue his career. Ferenczy told his tale, to which the

Palatine listened encouragingly; and when he was dismissed, he left the presence of the Prince with a promise that if he remained in the atelier of Thorwaldsen for five years, his Highness would for that period transmit to him the annual sum of three hundred and sixty silver florins; by which time, if he had by energy and exertion tested and ascertained the extent of his capabilities, he would be enabled to establish himself; and this liberal promise was duly fulfilled from 1811 to 1824; a second pension of six hundred florins being subsequently added to the first.

Love and reverence for Canova, nevertheless, filled the heart of Ferenczy even amid the noble creations of Thorwaldsen; he had been at once his idol, his patron, and his friend; he had first taught him to hope and to persevere, and nursed into brighter flame the trembling lamp of genius. The youth laboured on patiently and unremittingly, however, working into shape and form throughout the day the emanations of another's mind, and suppressing the suggestions of his own fancy: and then he stole home at night to his solitary studio, recalling every word and look of Canova with as

much devotion as a lover muses over the perfections of his absent mistress, and there gave scope to his thick-coming fancies, and consoled himself for the thraldom of his monotonous apprenticeship.

At the close of the year 1822, he finished an Allegorical figure, typifying the origin of Art; and this, together with the bust of Csokonaï was transferred to Hungary. The first now occupies a niche in the National Museum for which establishment it was wrought; and the second, dedicated by the artist to the Reformed College of Débreczin (of which church Ferenczy is a member), is erected in that city where the Poet made his studies, and where he ultimately died.

So happy and propitious a commencement to his career drew upon the young Magyar the attention of his countrymen, who are ever enthusiastic on the subject of native talent; and it was resolved to second the liberality of the Prince-Palatine by a subscription, which might enable Ferenczy to pursue his studies to an extent that would conduce alike to his own honour and to that of his country, if he still desired to continue his sojourn

at Rome; a resolution which was communicated to him by M. Döbrentei from Vienna in 1823.

Meanwhile, however, the young man had received from his father a letter full of stern and uncompromising patriotism, in which he called upon his son to return at once to his native country, and to dedicate to her the powers with which his GOD had gifted him; a mandate which he obeyed the more readily that the Prince-Primate Alexander Rudnay had also written to invite him back to Hungary, to execute the statues which were to decorate the dome of the Basilick of Gran.

On the other hand, in a conversation which M. Döbrentei held on one occasion with the Count Vay on the subject of Ferenczy, the amiable man of letters had remarked that "although millions could not create genius, a poor couple of hundred florins might serve to save and to foster it;" an axiom on which the Magnate at once acted, by offering to the sculptor a pension of three thousand Viennese florins, should he desire to remain at Rome for three years longer; but unfortunately Ferenczy only received the letter containing this

liberal proposition on his return to Vienna in the autumn of 1824.

It was in the same year that he commenced his search for Hungarian marble; in which, as I have already stated, he (as I consider) unfortunately succeeded; and in order to enable him to prosecute this inquiry, the Count Vay, notwithstanding his return from Italy, generously paid over to him the three thousand florins which had been intended to assist in the perfectioning of his art.

In 1825, Ferenczy began to model and to make plaster casts; and the Count Maurice Sándor whom he had met at Rome, provided him with a suitable house and premises. Had the Sculptor been a denizen of some land in which the arts were rife, he would probably have been crushed by poverty, or have worn away an obscure existence plying the ignoble calling of his father; drowning in silence and in bitterness the glorious emanations of his fancy; and sickening over the gnawing void of his own heart; but Ferenczy happily was an Hungarian, and the whole nation sympathised in his genius, which each felt to be a promise and a pledge.

The ten principal works of Ferenczy were all wrought in the marble of Ruskicza, a (frontier district of Hungary and Transylvania;) the most beautiful of which is said to be the monument erected by the Countess of Brunswick to the memory of her husband at her magnificent estate at Korompa; and he is now engaged on that of Charles Kisfaludy, a comic Magyar dramatist, which is to be erected by subscription.

A monument to Mathias Corvinus is to follow; for the enthusiasm with which the proposal was met throughout the country, leaves no doubt that this great national work will not be delayed for want of funds.

Committees have been formed at Pesth, Szégédin, and Rimaszombal, where the receipts have been highly satisfactory; and Ferenczy will be nobly employed when his chisel is engaged in perpetuating the memory of one of the greatest of the Magyar Monarchs; whose high qualities were appreciated so thoroughly even by the humblest of his subjects, that to this day when an Hungarian peasant feels himself wronged, there springs to his lips the expression: "*Meghole*

Mátyás Király, oda az igazság—King Mathias is dead, and Justice is at an end."

Ferenczy has just built a handsome sexangular *atelier*, lighted from the roof; his workshops are full of half-finished groups and busts; and the energetic and generous patronage which is bestowed upon him, gives every hope that his career will be both honourable and prosperous.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE HUNGARIAN JEWS—THEIR PHYSIOGNOMY—THEIR INFLUENCE UNDER THE EARLY MAGYAR MONARCHS —RESTRICTIVE LAWS—AMOUNT OF JEWS IN HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA—THE SYNAGOGUE AT PESTH—SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE JEWS — GOVERNMENT TAX—CHRISTIAN CONVERTS—COMMON OCCUPATIONS —PROPOSED EMANCIPATION OF THE JEWS—SECTARIAN TOLERANCE.

AMONG the numerous sects and creeds mingled together in Hungary, I have hitherto only casually mentioned the Jews, who are, however, numerically too important a portion of the population to be thus lightly passed over. This scattered people, to whom the whole world appears to be a heritage rather than a home, who penetrate equally to the monarch's closet and the peasant's hut, and who in every nation seem to urge one persevering and earnest strife against the declara-

tion that no man can serve both God and mammon; have also from time to time enacted too marked a *rôle* among the Magyars not to merit peculiar mention.

Physically, the Hungarian Jews bear very slight resemblance to their brethren of more southern Europe; their physiognomies are rather Italian than Hebrew, and their features much less prominent and sharply cut than we are accustomed to see them in our part of the world. With us, the first glance determines the identity of the outcasts of Israel, but such is far from being the case in Hungary; and it is generally more from that peculiarity of gait of which no Jew can ever thoroughly divest himself, than by his personal appearance, that he may be distinguished here.

The constant communion maintained with the Greek Jews no doubt tends also in a great degree to produce this peculiarity; indeed, I have sometimes seen among the Jewesses of Pesth, and Lower Hungary, faces of as classical beauty as ever were fabled by the ancients.

From the commencement of the monarchic era, the social state of the Hungarian Jews has expe-

rienced many and remarkable vicissitudes. Here, as in every other nation of Europe during the middle ages, this people was the only one which understood the art of coining, the value and connexion of different moneys, the effect of a regulated circulation, and the mysteries of commerce.

At that period, when there existed no methodical system of taxation, crowned heads were frequently embarrassed for want of funds; and they knew no better means of replenishing their empty treasuries than applying to the Jews, who by their immense speculations always contrived to supply the necessities of the impoverished Sovereigns, whom the momentary convenience sufficed to blind to the permanent sacrifice by which the accommodation was universally purchased; and thus a great and deep-seated public evil grew out of improvidence and supineness rather than vice or injustice; for these temporary supplies soon induced the destruction of landed property, and other sources of national revenue; rendering the consequences of the remedy far more deplorable eventually than the evil itself.

Many were the monarchs who learnt this bitter

truth too late; but the golden age of the trading Israelites in Hungary was that period of the reign of Andrew II. when he headed the fifth crusade in 1217, and departed for Palestine in consequence of the convocation of the council of Latran two years previously, followed by a goodly train of nobles and prelates; for during this expedition the finest domains of the country became alienated, and the regal duties on coinage and salt were farmed by the Jews, who became national farmers-general.

Their influence soon converted all the trade in merchandise and metals into an exclusive monopoly in favour of their own people; and so great was the disorder in public affairs that they became possessed even of royal grants.

Two laws were consequently framed with the concurrence of the States in 1222 (article 24) and 1231 (article 31), by which the Jews were excluded from all participation in the levy of imposts, and all interference in the exercise of the regal duties of the mint and salt-mines; and at the same time they were declared incapable of

holding landed property, or possessing aristocratic privileges.

Under Louis le Grand, who reigned from 1342 to 1382, the Jews were altogether interdicted from settling in Hungary; but King Sigismund, who was always in embarrassed circumstances (1387–1437) re-established them in the kingdom, and even legitimised, by a privilege granted in 1436, their loans at heavy usury. Under the feeble rule of Louis II. (1516–26) a certain Jew named Isaac, in 1524, was the Comptroller of the Mint at Kassa (Kaschau).

The two succeeding centuries were less propitious to the Jews; and at the present day the lower class are in a most degraded position. An ancient statute excludes them from Dalmatia, Croatia, and Sclavonia; they are forbidden the district frontiers by a decree of 1729; and they are not permitted to inhabit the counties of Bars, Zólyom, Hont, or Gomör; while even their access to the mining cities is severely interdicted, in consequence of the frauds of which they were accused when connected with the transfer of the metals.

Those, however, who profiting by the permission accorded to their race by Joseph II. had established themselves in cities unconnected with the mining districts, and even in Croatia, have been permitted, in accordance with a law passed in 1791, to continue their inhabitation.

There does not exist throughout the whole of Hungary one purely Jewish colony; but here, as elsewhere, they are scattered over the kingdom in cities, towns, and villages. In 1785, their numerical amount was only seventy-five thousand and eighty-nine, but twenty years later it had already extended to one hundred and twenty-seven thousand, eight hundred and sixteen, making in that comparatively brief period an increase of fifty-two thousand, seven hundred and twenty-seven, more than two-thirds of the entire number; and according to Csaplovics, whose statistical work on Hungary was published in 1829, they had then attained the immense aggregate of one hundred and sixty-five thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven! They have in the country three hundred and forty-two synagogues, and as many Rabbins.

The singing in the great synagogue at Pesth is

considered to be the most beautiful that can be heard in any of their temples; superior even to that at Vienna, which has long been celebrated.

At Semlin and Pancsova many Spanish and Portuguese Jews still reside; descendants of those who were compelled to exile themselves during the persecutions of Torquemada.

These people retain their original language, like their brethren at Constantinople, of whom I have spoken in a previous work,* and who fled at the same time from the same evil.

At present the Hungarian Jews are merely tolerated; and even for this toleration they pay an annual tax to the Government, which until 1806 only amounted to eighty thousand silver florins; but from that year until 1816 it was augmented to one hundred and twenty thousand, and subsequently to one hundred and sixty thousand; which is the sum now paid. They are not permitted to possess funded property, nor to hold public offices; but they are nevertheless compelled to serve in the army, to which they have the greatest repugnance.

* The City of the Sultan, vol. iii. (2nd edition.)

The wealthier portion of the community are merchants; and many of these families having become converted to Christianity, have purchased their nobility, and enjoy all the immunities of the privileged classes; but despite their gold, their social condition is far from enviable. Some of the most intelligent of their young men have devoted themselves to the study of medicine, and a few among them with considerable success. Others, but they are not by any means numerous, have adopted literature as their profession.

The Jews of the lower order who are dispersed through the country follow the three callings of distillers, or vendors of brandy, and brokers, buying up all descriptions of vegetable produce; in the whole of which transactions the poor peasants are universally their dupes; those of the same rank who inhabit the towns ply as porters, or follow the favourite Hebrew occupation of old-clothes-men, in which traffic they not only wander about the cities themselves, but continually travel from one village to another.

The demoralization of the Jews is undoubtedly attributable in a very great degree to their con-

dition of political and social oppression; and the Hungarian States have recently shown themselves well inclined to deliver them from a state of degradation opposed to every principle of liberty and justice.

Several counties, and particularly that of Pesth, have charged their representatives in the present Diet, to propose the emancipation of the Jews; but up to this moment the more serious questions which have been debated by the Chambers have prevented all discussion on the subject; and it is probable that even when it comes before the House, although the Lower Table may advocate their cause, the proposition will be rejected by the Magnates. Meanwhile, on the occasion of some modifications of the new *Urbarium*, the Diet lately granted to the Jews the right of holding peasant-lands on the same tenure and conditions as the Christians; one step, at least, gained towards an equalization of rights.

They are not, generally speaking, by any means so bigoted to their own faith as in many other countries where I have met with them; a fact which I have already sufficiently, although casu-

ally, shown in my previous mention of their suffering their sick children in the public hospitals to partake of the food provided by the establishment; and their trading in the flesh of swine, whose very touch is esteemed pollution by their people elsewhere.

CHAPTER XIX.

COMMERCE — AMERICAN SPECULATION—EXPORTS—INTERNAL RESOURCES OF HUNGARY—WANT OF EXTERIOR DEMAND — TABLE OF PRODUCTS — OFFICIAL RETURN OF TRAFFIC ON THE DANUBE—NAVIGATION OF THE SAVE — INCREASE OF TRAFFIC ON THE DANUBE — THE DOCK-YARD — MERCHANDISE CONVEYED BY THE STEAM-BOATS—THE TOW-BOATS.

THE commerce of Hungary is so vital a portion of her present existence that I cannot deem a recurrence to the subject obtrusive, even although I have already treated it at some length. My aim has been rather to make an useful, and above all, veracious, book, than an amusing one; and as I live from day to day among the Magyars, and learn the importance of a development of their extraordinary interior resources; and above all, am enabled through the kindness of competent persons, to give a fair and true account of their

nature and extent, I become more anxious to place them in such a point of view as may attract the attention, and awaken the sympathies, of England.

It may not be an uninteresting fact that the American minister has made overtures to the authorities for a regular and reciprocal system of trade with the United States. Wines, wools, and other less important articles of commerce have already been exported to America—a Consul is to be appointed in every great trading station along the Danube—and so far have the arrangements progressed, that an offer has been made to the Hungarians to admit all their products (tobacco included) into the American ports duty free, if her vessels be permitted in return to discharge their ladings at half dues in the Danube.

That the internal resources of the country are immense must be at once conceded by all who are conversant with the subject; and when it is remembered that Hungary equals in extent the whole of the remaining German empire, the possible amount of her productions, were she urged

to put forth all her energy, cannot to-day be computed.

It must be borne in mind that the paucity of her population and the want of exterior demand, have paralysed her great proprietors; and that consequently her present products cannot by any means be taken as a criterion of her actual capabilities. Nature has done everything for her; her mountains are rich in ore, and her soil in grain—her forests are almost exhaustless—and the Danube provides her with a great highway to every part of Europe.

Her climate admits of every species of produce, and her hill-sides are clothed with vineyards. Even now, when she may truly be said without metaphor to be eating away her own heart, and feeding upon herself; (for her foreign commercial relations, compared with her internal resources, are almost too insignificant to merit mention;) and fettered and trammelled by heavy and vexatious imposts on her frontiers, her supply is so great that the very peasant leaves his grapes uncut, and his corn ungarnered, for want of room to house

them; and suffers half his land to run to waste because he cannot dispose of the crop that it would bear.

A better idea may however be formed of her capabilities by a glance at her present productions; and I am enabled, through the kindness of a very competent friend, to furnish a table as exact as it is possible to compile in the country.

ANNUAL PRODUCTIONS OF HUNGARY, WITH THE AMOUNT OF EXPORTS, AND CURRENT VALUE OF EACH ARTICLE.

	Annual produce No. of Quintaux.	Export Viennese Weight.	Value in Silver florins per quintal.
Alum, exported to Turkey, Switzerland, Bavaria, and Saxony .	10,000	5,000	5¾
Raw Antimony, to America, England, and Italy . . .	6,000	6,000	11
Cantharides, to England and America	200	200	150
Feathers for beds, to Saxony, France, and Switzerland . .	4,000	2,000	from 20 to 60
Sheep- and Goat-skins, to France and Switzerland. No. of skins.	1,500,000	1,000,000	½f. or 20kr.
Horse-hair, to Bavaria, Switzerland, and Saxony . . .	800	600	40 to 60
Rags (for paper), to England .	120,000	70,000	4 to 6
Flax, to Bavaria, Italy, and England	200,000	100,000	10 to 12
Honey, to Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia	50,000	15,000	14 to 20
Knopperns (described in a preceding chapter), to Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia . . .	100,000	30,000	5 to 7
Glue, to Bavaria and Saxony .	20,000	10,000	25
Rape Oil, to Saxony, Bavaria, Prussia, and Italy . . .	200,000	150,000	12
Potash, to Saxony and Bavaria .	150,000	50,000	11
Lucerne-seed, to England and Bavaria	10,000	6,000	25
Wool, to England, America, Saxony, Bavaria, the Netherlands, and Italy . . .	300,000	200,000	40 to 170
Silk	500		1,000 to 1,100

	Annual produce No. of Quintaux.	Export Viennese Weight.	Value in Silver florins per quintal.
Soda, to Bavaria and Saxony .	12,000	4,000	14
Tobacco, to Saxony, Bavaria, Prussia, Hamburg, France, and Italy	500,000	200,000	5 to 14
Tallow, to Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria	300,000	15,000	20
Wax, to Italy and Bavaria .	4,000	1,000	75
Cream of Tartar, to Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria . . .	2,000	1,000	14
Wine (treated of more fully in a preceding chapter), to Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Russia, Bavaria, Prussia . .	0	400,000	4 to 12 per Eimer
Corn, i.e. barley, rye, oats, wheat, and Indian corn, cannot be exactly estimated, any more than wine, as regards quantity; but presuming that out of twelve millions of population, each consumes daily three-quarters of a pound, making annually an aggregate weight of 3,285,000,000 of lbs. at 75 lbs. to the metzen (or Hungarian bushel,) or 44,000,000 of metzens,	of metzens 75,000,000	of metzens 8	
The consumption by animals, and in breweries, taken at its minimum, may be calculated at . . 22,000,000			
The export to Austria 6,000,000			
In the brandy distilleries 1,000,000			
Sundry exports to England, Italy, and France. 2,000,000			
Corn-brandy for the Interior and Austria	300,000		9
Plum-brandy, called Slibovitz .	100,000		10

The quantity of corn here calculated might be doubled did the demand induce it, as there are immense waste lands requiring only culture to become as prolific as the finest arable country now cultivated. Eighty-two pounds Viennese weight are equal to one hundred pounds English. One eimer contains seventy Bordeaux, or sixty Champagne bottles. The Presburgh metzen measures one bushel and two-fifths English. The freight by land to Hamburgh costs from six to seven florins for one hundred pounds (Viennese weight); from Carlstadt to Fiesme 1¼ f. for do.; and from Pesth to Trieste 2¾ f. for ditto.

It may not be uninteresting to add to this table a copy of the official return of the principal articles of traffic on the river Save, showing the exportation from Hungary towards Italy and the Adriatic, which was procured from the office at Semlin by the friend to whom I am indebted for its possession. This medium supplies the Croatian and Illyrian provinces, and includes much of what is sent to England. The exportation of tobacco to France during the same period has been immense. We have one friend, a merchant, who has

himself shipped 50,000 cwt. for that destination within the year.

Year.	No. of Ships.	Wheat, No. of Metzen.	Mixed with Rye, No. of Metzen.	Barley, No. of Metzen.	Oats, No. of Metzen.	Maize, No. of Metzen.	Rape-seed, No. of Metzen.	Tobacco by Cwt.
1838	475	951,018	151,642	24,674	133,444	342,400	77,281	49,480
1839 to Dec. 1	378	809,633	115,058	7,375	58,672	311,991	16,308	65,492

I ought, perhaps, to apologise for all these figures; but I was so much afraid of perplexing a subject in which I am individually not too well versed, that I thought it better to give the calculation in precisely the same shape in which I received it, than to incur the risk of error by a paraphrase; and this will, I trust, serve as my excuse.

There are certain enthusiasts, (and for the sake of the commercial interests of Hungary it is seriously to be deplored that theirs is only enthusiasm!) who are seeking to prove that the navigation of the Save is impeded, if not altogether prevented, by Austrian policy; but this is unfortunately far from the fact. Did the river maintain a certain level during the hot months, the minor impediments of shallows and shifting banks which

merely increase its difficulties, might be readily overcome by outlay and energy; but the sudden droughts which exhaust its bed, and which are remedied slowly and with great uncertainty as regards time, are a more serious and irremediable hindrance to the regular commerce which might otherwise be organised on this apparently promising stream, than any politic or selfish government could have suggested.

I have been assured by competent and practical men, (interested in the investigation of the capabilities of the Save which was instituted a year or two ago,) that with all its apparent promise, vessels having discharged their merchandise would be subjected at times to a detention of three months, before they could effect their return to the Danube; and that in addition to this commercially serious consideration, the transfer of passengers (the main dependence of the steam-vessels of Hungary,) was *nul* on the return of the boats, and very inconsequent on their ascent; a circumstance in itself sufficient to prevent any speculation in a country where prudent speculators having little to lose, are accustomed to con-

template beforehand the *probable* chances of success; and where a railroad, costing little more to establish, and less to maintain, along the shore of the river, would produce the same facilities without any of the drawbacks of the river itself.

Meanwhile the increase of traffic on the Danube is slowly but surely working out the prosperity of Hungary; and were the financial circumstances of the landed proprietors less trammelled than they are generally admitted to be, there is no country in Europe with which the trading interests of England might be so closely and profitably united.

The Steam-Packet Company have established a dock-yard on a small island opposite to Old Buda, which is a perfect model, with its workshops, forges, and dry-docks. There are two stone-sheds, the one covered in, and the other preparing for its roof, under which the new vessels are to be erected; the first ever built there being now in progress of completion, to be called the Nádor, and to replace the vessel of that name which has plied since the formation of the Company. An iron boat of one hundred and twenty horse power is also under construction. The

carpenters are principally from Trieste, and the smiths from Venice.

The engine-house is under the control and superintendence of an English engineer, assisted by several British and Scotch workmen; the rope-walk is a hundred and ninety toises in length, and entirely under cover; and, as well as all the other buildings connected with the establishment, and the depôt of wood used in constructing the vessels, they are encircled by a ring-fence; and the whole of this compact and substantially-built dock-yard has been erected since the month of April 1839, under the direction of a talented Italian, Captain Virgilio Bozzo.

There are at present ten steamers on the Danube, and seven on the Black Sea. The dimensions and tonnage of those on the river itself are as follows:

	LENGTH OF DECK.	BREADTH.	TONNAGE.
	No. of Feet.	*Feet. In.*	
Erós	179	25 0	525
Arpád	180	23 0	467
Zrinyi	167	23 0	405
Marianna.....	147	22 0	339
Francis.....	139	22 0	318
Nádor	138	18 2	212
Pannonia.....	132	17 2	180

In the year 1837, the aggregate number of passengers conveyed by the Company was forty-seven thousand, four hundred and thirty-six; in 1838, it had augmented to seventy-four thousand, five hundred and eighty-four, (making an increase of twenty-seven thousand, one hundred and forty-eight;) and in 1839 it was sixty-six thousand, eight hundred.

The amount of merchandise carried during the same period was, in 1838, two hundred and eleven thousand, nine hundred and nineteen bales, and three hundred and twenty thousand, six hundred and fourteen cwts.; and in the previous year only one hundred and fifty-one thousand, four hundred and two bales, and two hundred and forty-six thousand, six hundred and twenty-three cwts.; also showing a considerable increase. In 1839, the freightage was two hundred and forty thousand cwts.

For Wallachia alone (from Vienna) the Company shipped in 1837, eight thousand, three hundred and twenty-six cwts. of merchandise, and one hundred and twenty-three carriages. In 1838, twelve thousand, eight hundred and fifty-

five cwts., and one hundred and forty carriages; and for Servia, Wallachia, and the Turkish provinces collectively, in 1837, twenty-six thousand, seven hundred and twenty-nine cwts.; in 1838, thirty-three thousand, nine hundred and thirty-six cwts.; while in every instance not quoted, 1839 and 1840 showed an increase upon the previous year.

The Report of the Company's Agents showed the total outlay and receipts to be, in 1838:

	Fl.	Kr.	Fl.	Kr.
Gain by merchandise....	483,841	27		
By Passengers	2,575	53		
Making a total of			486,417	20
General expenses	223,673	28		
Interest of money	91,918	45		
Making a total of.....			315,592	13
Yearly net profit			170,825	7

In 1839, the Erós, with two towing-boats, conveyed from Servia to the markets of Pesth and Vienna, nine thousand pigs in thirteen voyages; and the balance-sheet of the Company shows the

aggregate amount of merchandise transported through their means from the 1st of March, 1838, to the end of November, 1839, to have been as follows; from the lower part of the river to Semlin, Pesth, and Vienna, the whole having performed quarantine at Suppanek on the frontier.

	1838.	1839.	Surplus.
Raw cotton	207,51	867,39	659,38
Dried fruits	201,64	95,58	—
Hemp	135,92	155,94	20,02
Raw silk	18,52	46,08	27,56
Pigs	14,00	33,05	19,05
Cyprus wine	9,50	4,63	—
Oil of roses	1,33	67	—
Hare-skins	38,73	265,53	226,85
Tobacco (cut and uncut)	15,05	3,65	—
Common oil	—	139,71	139,71
Ecume de mer (for pipes)	13,63	125,21	111,58
Bees'-wax	380,68	427,66	46,98
Wool	121,69,60	7780,20	—
Unwrought copper	—	39,40	39,40
Sundry merchandise (in bales)	120,45	191,51	71,06
Tanned leather	367,20	1034,51	667,33

CHAPTER XX.

VISSEGRÁD—STATE OF THE RUIN—POSITION OF THE PALACE—ANTIQUITY OF THE BUILDING—M. VÖRÖSMARTY'S TRAGEDY—SALOMON'S TOWER—THE POWER OF CHARITY—THE FATE OF CLARA—KINGLY CONCLAVE—VISSEGRÁD UNDER MATTHIAS CORVINUS—THE FORTRESS—THE SACRED CROWN—OCCUPATION BY THE TURKS—RUIN.

I HAVE forborne to weary the reader with an account of our occasional excursions in the neighbourhood of the capital, where there was no remarkable feature to render them matter of general interest; but it is impossible so to pass over our pilgrimage to Vissegrád, the ruined stronghold of Magyar luxury, and regal vengeance.

Our visit was unfortunately too long deferred, for we trod the intricacies of the mouldering palace in a season when the rock was covered with snow; and the irregular outline of the building itself cut darker and more frowningly even

than its wont against the clear cold sky of winter. Nevertheless, the very fact now quoted was not without its charm, although it severely tested our powers of endurance, for the rock is high and bleak, devoid of a vestige of vegetation; and a bold mark for the winds by which it is buffeted without mercy.

I had no difficulty, as I wandered through the

"roofless, dreary, desolated halls"

of Vissegrád, in reconciling to myself the fact that this had really been the "thrice-regal" palace of which I had heard and read so much: the scene of so vast a share of pomp and treachery, and festival and crime! From the Danube it is a magnificent object; and its extent renders it extremely imposing. The ruins crest the rock like a diadem; and the antiquarian friend by whom we were accompanied, after having suffered me to roam for awhile alone through the building, caused me quietly to retrace my steps, and then became my *cicerone*, lending to the ruined present the spell of the vanished past.

I forgot the chill of the snow upon which I trod, and the fierce buffetings of the wind that

assailed me as I turned each angle of the edifice, when I stood between the mouldering walls, and we attempted to trace together the situation of the room which once held the Hungarian regalia—to tread the floor of the chamber in which it is believed that Sigismund received the intelligence that he was a prisoner in his own palace, by order of his rebellious Magnates: and, above all, lingered amid the ruins of the banqueting-hall, where the brave and maddened Felician Zach was cut to pieces while endeavouring to revenge the dishonour of his child!

In short, Vissegrád is rife with remembrances; and they were so vividly called up by my talented companion that I soon felt that I had never trodden any ruins more deeply interesting.

The arid rock upon which we stood had once been redolent of vegetation; its inequalities draped in shrubs and flowers, and its summits green with trees; but now all was gone; and after we had walked round the main ruin, and scrambled through the breach made by the Turks under Solyman, we with some difficulty followed the straggling and perishing wall which unites it to a small for-

tress on the lip on the river, of which the principal feature is the remains of a tall tower known as Salomon's tower, from the fact of its having in the eleventh century been the prison of that monarch.

This is by far the most perfect portion of the whole pile, but even this is fast crumbling to decay, and it is not safe to attempt its ascent.

The history of Hungary speaks for the first time of Vissegrád towards the middle of the eleventh century, under Andrew I., who built a convent for Greek monks in the neighbourhood in the year 1056; and the reign of his son Salomon I. (who gives its name to the riverward tower) has afforded material for an admirable Magyar tragedy by M. Vörösmarty, the scene of which is partially laid in Vissegrád.

This King, whose nature was uncertain and capricious, after having voluntarily renounced the throne of Hungary, ultimately resolved to recover its possession; and invited his cousin Ladislaus I. to visit him after his abdication as a friend and relative, having previously made preparations either to assassinate or imprison him.

This intention was, however, betrayed to Ladis-

laus, who taking his measures accordingly, possessed himself of the person of his perfidious kinsman, and shut him up in the fortress-tower already named.

Tradition says that he might have lived and died there had not the saints interested themselves in his fate; which, as he was suffering the penalty of premeditated and treacherous murder, appears to have been more merciful than consistent in those holy persons.

Ladislaus desired to disinter the bones of St. Stephen, who was canonized in 1081, but no human power could raise the lid of the coffin. After having spent three days in fasting and prayer, a community of charity announced to the King that the remains of the saint could not be uncovered until the captive Salomon was set free; upon which the doors of the prison were opened, and the sarcophagus of the holy monarch gave up its sacred relics.

The next legend of Vissegrád is less absurd, and far more tragical. Two centuries subsequently to the exhumation of St. Stephen—and during that long period history is silent on the

subject of this regal stronghold—Charles Robert of the house of Anjou ascended the throne of Hungary; and in 1310 caused the sacred crown to be transported thither from Stuhlveissenburg, (Fejérvár,) where it had previously been kept. There too he celebrated his three marriages; and there he assisted in a tragedy so frightful that had he been the goodliest monarch who ever wielded a sceptre, it would have sufficed to subscribe his name upon the page of futurity in characters of shame.

Charles Robert had been rather forced upon the Hungarians by Pope Boniface VIII. than selected by the people themselves; for on the extinction of the Arpádian dynasty in the person of Andrew the Venetian, that Pontiff declared the kingdom to be a Romish fief, and assumed the right of nominating the Sovereign. Hungary was exhausted by intestine war; jealousies were rife among the nobles; and the nation, weary of contention and suffering, preferred peace at any price to a continuance of those evils, and therefore received the Italian Prince as their Monarch; thereby, as they afterwards unhappily

experienced, only replacing one calamity by another. To war and bloodshed succeeded immorality and libertinage. The Stranger King surrounded himself by pomp and pageantry; and all the demoralising entertainments of other dissolute European courts found ready adoption in that of Charles Robert. Hitherto the brave and simple Hungarians had made chivalry their pastime, and with true knightly feeling had loathed vice, and despised effeminacy; but under Italian rule they were taught that profligacy might also have its charm, and that the enervating accessories of luxury and debauch were essential to the courtly bearing of a noble.

Such lessons are soon learnt; and ere long the princely halls of Vissegrád were polluted by scenes of turbulence and riot; and the pastimes of the court became a scandal in the land.

In his historical sketch of Vissegrád Count John Mailáth has the following passage: "It was there that Charles Robert was once in great danger. An Hungarian gentleman, named Felician Zach, entered the hall while the Royal Family were at table, and endeavoured to strike

the King on the head, but the Monarch succeeded in parrying the mortal blow. He then wounded the Queen in the hand; and sought to throw himself on the princes; when John, of the family of Patarf, Comptroller of the Queen's kitchen, sprang towards Felician, and struck him in the back. This circumstance, however, failed to disgust the King with the Fortress of Vissegrád."

The episode thus given is crude enough; nor would it lead the reader to surmise that a fear of the censor has therein disguised one of the most awful tragedies ever enacted in real life The tale is in truth so harrowing, that, were it not vouched for in the national archives, it would appear to be rather the offspring of a distorted imagination than a recapitulation of facts.

History, more elucidatory than the Count Mailáth, goes on to say, that Casimir King of Poland, the Queen's brother, emulating the licentious example of Charles Robert, suffered himself to nurse an unholy passion for the daughter of a brave old officer, who was in attendance on his sister, and whose extreme loveliness was the theme of the whole court.

Felician Zach, the father of the maiden, was descended from a noble Hungarian family, and a veteran of acknowledged bravery; but of a fierce and haughty disposition. He had been one of the generals of Matthias Csáki of Trencsin, when that noble rose against Charles Robert to maintain his rights as Palatine of Transylvania. The King, after the death of the Count of Trencsin, had pardoned Zach, and he was an occasional guest at Vissegrád.

The extraordinary beauty of his only daughter having reached the ears of the Queen, who loved to surround herself with the fairest maidens in the land, the veteran had been commanded to present Clara at Vissegrád, and he had obeyed most reluctantly; for although the haughty Magyar never for a moment contemplated the possibility of insult to *his* child, he knew too well the laxity of morals in fashion at the court, not to shrink from exposing his pure and gentle daughter to the indignity of such collision.

The reality, however, outran his fears, when Elizabeth, fascinated by the fair creature who stood blushing into deeper beauty each instant

before her, volunteered to replace the mother she had lost, and to retain her about her person. In vain did Zach plead that without the presence of his child his home would be doubly desolate: the Queen was deaf to his objections, and remained unmoved even by the large tears which fell upon his scarred and warworn cheek; and the pure and timid Clara became an inmate of the Fortress-palace.

Jealously did the veteran hover about the treasure which had been wrested from him: and for a time all went well. The young beauty was continually beside Elizabeth, or seated at her feet, busied with her tapestry or her lute; dreaming no evil, and all unconscious of the gulf which was yawning dark and deep before her.

But this state of things could not last for ever. Casimir of Poland had vowed her ruin; and the Queen, who idolised her vain and profligate brother, forgot the voluntary promise that she had made, of becoming a mother to the orphan, and suffered him to loiter for hours in her apartment, in the impious endeavour to win the unsuspicious heart of the guileless Clara. Vain was the attempt, however. The insidious poison of his words fell

innoxious on the ear of the innocent girl who did not comprehend their import, nor even dream of loving the Polish King: while his flatteries, although they made her blush, and even smile, were forgotten as soon as uttered.

But not thus was the profligate Casimir to be thwarted. Gold proved more efficacious among the maidens of the lady, than adulation with herself; and on a fair night in summer, when the outline of the bristling rock lay dark upon the Danube, and the rushing of the rapid current could be heard on the summit of the Castle-keep, a female figure might have been seen to start from beneath the deep arch of the fortress, and hurry wildly downward to the river. There it paused, but only for a moment; and then springing into a boat moored beneath the bank, seized an oar, and pushed off boldly into the centre of the stream.

It was Clara. Her hair escaped from the fillet which should have bound it, floated in the night wind; her eyes were tearless; and her parted lips parched and dry, save where the blood had sprung beneath the fast-clenched teeth. She seemed

endued with superhuman strength; and even when the current caught her little bark, and swept it onward, she battled stoutly and sternly with the stream, and finally sprang on shore on the opposite bank, a few paces from the stronghold of her father.

The tower of Zach crested a height, up which the delicate but maddened girl toiled on, unconscious of fatigue, or of the rugged difficulties of the way; until she stood, panting and breathless, within the deep shadow of the portal.

At the accents of her well-known voice the astonished warder lowered the bridge and raised the portcullis; and onward without another word, but with the speed of lightning, rushed the dishonoured daughter of the chieftain to the bedside of her sleeping father.

"Awake, Felician Zach!" exclaimed the young and frenzied beauty, grasping the arm of the warrior, her large eyes bright with the lustre of insanity: "This is no time for sleep—you have heavy work to do. First to see your child die, and then to avenge her! Ask me nothing; but onward to Vissegrád, and strike freely, for your

blows cannot fall where they have not been earned."

Like a roused lion, goaded in his den, sprang the proud Magyar to his feet. Clara lay on the floor beside him senseless, and he strode over her, in search of his arms, without an effort to raise her up. He had neither need nor breath for inquiry. His rose was withered—his sky was darkened—the sun of his age was quenched.

As the morning broke, the faint light revealed the armed figure of Zach, pacing to and fro beside the shadowy river, awaiting the moment when he might wreak his vengeance on the regal tenants of Vissegrád. Alas! it came too soon; and a moment had scarcely elapsed after the courtly party had seated themselves in the great hall of the Castle to their morning meal, when with fury in his eyes, and his drawn sabre in his hand, the Hungarian stood on the threshold.

The first glance which fell upon him was that of the infamous Casimir; who, instantly conscious of the errand on which the wretched father had now intruded unbidden into the royal presence, and

cowardly as base, at once rose to fly. Blinded by his rage the blow of Zach fell short as he sprang towards his intended victim, and the Pole had time to escape through a side-door, and to shoot the bolt behind him. But the thirst for vengeance was not to be thus baffled; and maddened by his wretchedness, Zach next struck at Elizabeth, who received his blade upon her hand, as it was hastily parried by the King; thence the old chieftain turned towards the young princes, and fiercely shouting: "My child! my child!" attempted to strike them down, when he was surrounded and secured by the attendants, whom the suddenness of his first attack had paralyzed.

That the crime of Felician should be speedily followed by his execution was almost as merciful as it was just; but the heart sickens with disgust as it dwells upon the fate of the fair and unfortunate Clara. The messengers of the King, despatched to the tower of Zach to secure her person, found her still in the death-swoon in which her father had left her; and unfortunately conveyed her at once to Vissegrád, ere the first burst of the Monarch's violence had passed away; for so at least it is

charitable to hope; or surely nothing in human form could have engendered the devilish cruelty of Charles Robert, save under the influence of temporary madness.

As the insensible girl was borne into his presence, he remembered only that she had drawn down by her communications to her father the peril which had so lately menaced himself and his family; and forgetting at once her wrongs and his own Kingly nature, he commanded that her right hand should be struck off, her nose and lips cut away, and that in this mutilated and horrible condition she should be paraded from city to city until she sank under the agony, accompanied by a herald crying aloud: "So perish the enemies of the King!"

The brutal decree was put in force; and the delicate girl whose smile had once made light at Vissegrád, into whose eyes Kings had looked with admiration, and amid whose glossy hair the fingers of a Queen had wreathed flowers and jewels, maimed, bleeding, and helpless, soon sank beneath her sufferings; when her young brother,—the fair boy whom she had loved and

tended from his birth, was beheaded in his turn; and the two bodies were fastened to the tails of horses, overwhelmed with indignity, and finally flung to the dogs.

The tragedy was completed by hunting down, and putting to death all the connexions of Zach, however remote, in order that the race might be utterly extinguished; and it is some satisfaction to find the old historians assert that from this period a curse fell upon the arms of Charles Robert. Surely there needed none greater than the memory of Clara Zach to those who bore them!

But to return to the Fortress-palace. Vissegrád at one period boasted the presence of four Kings; John of Bohemia, Casimir of Poland, Stephen of Bosnia, and Charles Robert their host.

In the year 1338 the Duke of Prussia visited Vissegrád, and signed a perpetual alliance with Charles; and in 1339, Casimir of Poland also formed one with his brother-in-law, by virtue of which the succession of the Polish crown was ensured to Louis his nephew; and the result of this

treaty was the union of the crowns of Hungary and Poland.

Charles Robert died at Vissegrád; and his obsequies were attended by Casimir, and the Margrave John of Moravia, brother to the Emperor Charles IV.

Louis continued to inhabit the palace of Vissegrád, on which he expended considerable sums of money; and on his return from Naples, whither he went to revenge the death of his brother Andréas, he confined within its dungeons several princes who had been accomplices in the murder; whom he retained there for four years, before he restored them to liberty.

The Emperor John Paléologus, sovereign of Byzantium, with a numerous suite, also made a temporary sojourn at Vissegrád, when he came to entreat the support of Louis against the increasing power of the Osmanli.

Charles the Little died in the Fortress-palace of the wounds which he received at Buda from Blasius Forgacs, another victim to faction; but his example proved unavailing; for only fifty years subsequently, when the Hungarians were

once more divided on the choice of a king between Ladislaus V. and Vladislaus the Pole, Elizabeth, the mother of the former, who was the widow of Albert II., hurried to Vissegrád, broke up the vase which contained the Sacred Crown, and carried it off, in order to prevent the coronation of her son's rival.

After the death of Vladislaus, who fell in arms against the Turks, and the demise of Ladislaus V., at Prague, Vissegrád attained to its most palmy state under Matthias Corvinus. This great Monarch imprisoned in the fortress Victorin, the son of the Bohemian King, George Podiebrad, whom he made captive at the battle of Buda, and John Vitez, Archbishop of Gran; and here he was visited by the Papal Legate, who in his description of Vissegrád, called it "an earthly paradise."

Nor, if the testimony of some of the old writers deserve credit, was the term an exaggerated one, for truly it must have stood almost alone in its magnificence at that period. Its vast courts paved with mosaiced marble, were shaded by lime-trees, and refreshed by fountains of red marble

adorned with costly sculpture, which on occasions of festival ran with wine. It contained three hundred and fifty guest-chambers, wholly unconnected with the apartments of the household; and all of exceeding splendour. The principal staircase, also of native marble, was eight yards in width, and forty feet high. Alabaster and gilding lent their rich contrast to the adornment of the saloons; and the private suite of the King on the west side of the edifice was said to be unapproachable in magnificence.

The fortress, with its lofty keep, overtopped the regal residence, and added the grandeur of feudality to its other attractions;* while on the side of the vast court which was against the mountain, rose the chapel, in which stood, (as the chronicler expresses it†,) "an instrument of music, called an organ, where the barrels were of beaten silver, as were also the tabernacle, the shrines, and all the furnishing of the altars, mingled with alabaster and pure gold."

* Called, up to the Corvinian period, *Olahus*.

† Archbishop Olah.

Louis II. passed a law by which the Sacred Crown was always to be kept at Vissegrád, and two guardians were appointed who were forbidden to give it up, save to the Assembled States.

The unfortunate battle of Mohacs, which was fought in 1526, delivered over the country to the destructive power of the Turks; and three years later Solyman the Magnificent captured Vissegrád, and abandoned it to plunder.

For the next two centuries the fortunes of the regal fortress were an epitome of those of the whole nation; it was alternately in the possession of the Austrians and the Turks, and each in succession added to the ruin of the noble pile.

It had been for half a century in the power of the Infidels when it was retaken by Nicholas Palffy, who commanded the advanced guard of the Archduke Matthias, then marching against Buda, and who succeeded with immense labour in establishing cannon on a neighbouring height, which playing continually upon the fortress, ultimately compelled the Turks to surrender; but the ill-fated stronghold was so battered during the con-

test that the Imperial troops abandoned it as untenable when the Infidels threatened it in 1605.

Time and discord have alike lent their aid to bow the pride of Vissegrád even to the dust. Not a single vestige of its magnificence remains. The Tower of Salomon has for seven hundred years borne the name which recalls a tale of perfidy and weakness, but all now is tradition. A solitary stone with a battered shield and a half-effaced inscription, is the only remnant in existence of the chiselled treasures of which mention is rife in all the ancient records; and the grand arch of the principal gateway is the only portion of the pile of which the outline is still perfect.

Silence now reigns in undisputed monarchy over Imperial Vissegrád; and where Kings once feasted, and courtiers competed in tourney and bower-chamber; where Queens led the stately measure, and Princes pledged each other at the banquet, the very bat has scant room for shelter; and the lordly eagle, as he soars over the crumbling towers, or rests for a moment on moveless wing above the roofless halls of the dismantled

palace, is unscared by a single sound, where once the music of the lute, and the shock of steel were both familiar.

We spent a most fatiguing, but assuredly not a weary day, at Vissegrád.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CARNIVAL — GERMAN WALTZERS — NEW-YEAR'S GIFTS—LISZT—HIS RECEPTION AT PESTH—HIS CONCERTS—A COUP DE THÉATRE—THE SWORD OF STEVEN BÁTHORY—THE ARTISTE'S ADDRESS.

THE Carnival proved this year less gay than usual, owing to the absence of the political portion (which constitutes about five-sixths) of the Hungarian *haute-volée* at Presburg; but it still was sufficiently animated to employ right merrily the dancing division of the young Magyars and their lovely partners.

I attended several of the Balls, and must decidedly admit that anything more elegant than that given by the medical students I have rarely seen. Both the great saloons of the Redoute were thrown open to upwards of three thousand persons; and although it will be at once evident that in so dense a crowd a mixture of ranks must necessarily

take place, still the same circumstance prevented any consequent annoyance; as when you could scarcely succeed during the whole evening in finding your own friends, there was little opportunity for making undesirable acquaintance.

There is not probably a more handsomely-decorated room in Europe than the great saloon of the Redoute at Pesth; and the gallantry of the young physicians on the occasion of their ball gave birth to an exceedingly pretty idea, in the formation of a small bower in an alcove of the lesser hall, where a fountain of perfume sprinkled sweet odours on the embroidered 'kerchiefs of the fair guests. I shall not, however, detail our gaieties, as carnivals are much the same all the world over, where indeed "such things be;" it will suffice that we were expected to dance Strauss, dream Strauss, and deify Strauss, for six long weeks, ere leisure was allowed to remember that it is just possible to become wearied, even by the prettiest and most rapid waltzes that ever were imagined and executed.

Never, surely, was there anything to be compared in speed and energy of movement to the

German waltz of the present day! It is the very delirium of dancing—a match against time—a species of human teetotumising, which can only be accounted for by the general hurry which now pervades the world: railroad travelling is, however, tedium to it; and a room-full of good, earnest, pains-taking young Germans or Hungarians, racing after each other, resembles nothing that I have ever seen so much as a set of the mechanical figures which children wind up, and then place upon a table to spin themselves out.

But enough of this; I shall not say a word more about the balls to which we did or did not go, nor the suppers which we did or did not eat; upon the same principle that I have forborne to inflict upon my readers a history of the Christmas festivities, with their pretty child's play of pigmy trees lighted up with tapers, and hung over with bon-bons, to rejoice the hearts of all the population under twelve years of age; although I may hereafter, perhaps, give a sketch of them to Mr. Ackermann, for his Juvenile Annual, where they will be quite in their place—nor of the presents with which, on the first day of 1840 I found my

table entirely covered, from the splendid jewel sent to me by the Princess Palatine, to the cornucopia of sugarplums contributed by a tiny Magyar of three years old, who came with little gilt spurs at his heels to wish us a happy year!

But I must not omit an account of the reception of M. Liszt, the celebrated pianist, on his visit to Pesth, as it will enable my readers to form a better estimate of the enthusiasm of the Hungarian nation than the best-turned period of which I am capable.

M. Francis Liszt is by many persons esteemed to be one of the first, if not the very first, pianist now in existence. He has not been in London since he was a mere boy, having resided almost entirely in Paris. He is yet only twenty-five years of age, and his execution is most extraordinary; but the chief reason for my introducing him here is that he will visit London early this spring, and that he is an Hungarian.

This talented *artiste* is tall, and slight even to attenuation—the sword has worn away the scabbard—his appearance is extremely peculiar, and very distinguished; and his general attainments of

a high caste.* While yet a mere boy his genius developed itself in so marked a manner that no attempt was made to divert it from its proper channel; and at eight years of age young Liszt had mastered all the difficulties of an instrument which generally requires the study of a whole youth. It were idle, consequently, to add that at the present time he plays with it as with a toy; and frequently brings out sounds so wild and startling, and so unlike any to which the ear is accustomed, that I christened him the 'Paganini of the Piano,' and really he merits the name.

With the insight which I have endeavoured to give into the Hungarian character, I trust that my readers will readily picture to themselves the enthusiasm with which he was expected and received. An enthusiasm in nowise diminished by the fact that his political principles were well known; for his admirers had not suffered it to escape their memory that George Sand in one of his works had said: "*Je ne connais qu'un seul*

* It will be at once apparent that this sketch of the talented pianist was written on the spot, and before his recent visit to England.

homme qui vivra et qui mourra démocrate, et cet homme est François Liszt."

Just before the opening of the Carnival, the general cry was for days, "He comes!" until the enthusiasm grew to such a height that the whole city was engrossed by one subject. Every Hotel prepared a suite of rooms in the fond hope that theirs might be the proud roof destined to shelter him; print-sellers sent to Vienna for engraved portraits of all dimensions of their gifted countryman; extemporaneous antiquaries made researches to verify his genealogy; and even the pastrycooks, unwilling to be excelled in a patriotism which, moreover, promised to be very profitable, invented a new description of sponge-biscuits, shaped like a grand piano, and graced with the name of "Liszt" in spun sugar.

At length he really came: and to the very sincere regret of all the hotel-keepers in Pesth, took up his abode in the house of one of the nobles.

Daylight had no sooner merged into night than he was greeted by a serenade—and such a serenade! Nothing out of Germany could be com-

pared to it. A guitar by moonlight is a pretty thing, a very pretty thing; especially if accompanied by a rich manly voice issuing from among tube-roses and jessamine; or sweeping over the rippled surface of a southern lake; but for a chorus, a full, sweet, glorious chorus, where the *ensemble* is so perfect that it almost seems as though one voice must have breathed out the whole of the melody, there is no country in Europe like Germany.

The concert terminated with an ode, written for the occasion, and sung by one of the first vocalists in Pesth; after which the *Eljens* (Long life to him!) and "hurrahs" of a crowd composed of several hundreds of persons, rent the air; and when the *artiste* took his station in the balcony, in strong relief against the numerous tapers which lighted the saloon, the shouts became deafening. Silence was at length obtained, and then Liszt returned thanks for his reception; which, although he was greatly agitated, and that he spoke in French, having left his country at too early an age to have learnt its language sufficiently to retain it throughout so many years of absence, were enthu-

siastically received, and translated on the spot to those who were unable to understand him.

He did not disappoint his countrymen even in this first moment of gratified excitement. They had welcomed him not only as the first native Hungarian who had won an European reputation by his art, but also as a Magyar to whom his country was a holy and an honoured idol, shrined in his heart of hearts; and the friend of George Sand answered them as they had hoped. He spoke more of his country than of himself--more of her liberty than of his own fame—and bade them believe that he built his glory on the name of Magyar far more than on that which he had earned for himself. When I add that to this species of address was conjoined the fact of its being energetically and flowingly delivered in a singularly musical voice, it will readily be believed that with so excitable a people as the Hungarians the enthusiasm grew to intoxication, and that the night had nearly waned ere the city streets were again silent.

When his concerts were announced, the great saloon of the Redoute did not suffice to contain

the crowd, although the admission-tickets were distributed at a price considered very high for the country. The Hotels overflowed with guests from distant provinces, some of them at three and four days' journey from the capital, who hastened to Pesth to swell the triumph of the Artist-Liberal. Barons were in his train; and the fairest Countesses, in a land where almost all are fair, contended for his smiles; and here I must permit myself to remark that I never yet met an individual who so gracefully repaid the honours that were heaped upon him, and a homage as universal as it was unmeasured; and thus, strange and enviable destiny! when he departed he left not one enemy behind him. There was no plausible pretext for dislike, for he had "borne his honours meekly," and disarmed even envy, the most subtle, and consequently the most dangerous of foes.

I was particularly struck by his manner at a ball given to him by the ladies of the *haute-volée*, where he was little less than deified. In the course of the evening he was presented to me; and I have seldom spent a pleasanter half hour

than in conversing with this talented and amiable man, who will create, if I mistake not, a great sensation in London.

He performed during his stay for the benefit of the Hungarian Theatre, on which occasion the house was brilliantly lighted up, and so densely filled that there was not even standing-room to be procured by a disappointed crowd which besieged the doors several hours before the commencement of the concert. Even the back and wings of the stage were converted into boxes; and when Liszt appeared in a Magyar costume the acclamations were deafening, and almost interminable. At the close of the advertised performances, when the public enthusiasm was once more reluctantly subsiding, the *artiste* again seated himself at the piano, and struck up Rákotzy's march, the liberal air of Hungary—the magnificent and melancholy melody which was composed after the defeat of that celebrated Transylvanian Prince, and which ever acts like magic on the feelings of the Hungarians.

To attempt a description of its effect at this par-

ticular moment, when previous excitement had quickened the pulses and swelled the hearts of the audience, would be about as rational as to undertake to put into words the spirit-sound of the mighty Niagara; nor could sober English fancies enable them even to trench upon the reality—it was almost enough to have awakened the dead.

During the outburst several magnates and gentlemen appeared upon the stage, and by degrees silence was restored; when drawing from its case a costly sword enriched with jewels, which had formerly belonged to Stephen Báthory, one of the party presented it to Liszt, whom he addressed at once as a patriot and an *artiste*. It was probably the most perfect drama ever enacted on that stage; and the silence was so dense that every word was distinctly audible.

Liszt was painfully overcome; and during several moments could not utter a syllable, while the large tears rained through his long and slender fingers; but at length he rallied; and buckling the weapon about his waist with a sud-

den gesture of mingled pride and gratitude, he looked round the house with a long earnest look, and then, by a violent effort, compelled himself to speak.

But I cannot, I think, do better than transcribe his reply, for it will at once enable the reader to comprehend the excited state of feeling both of the *artiste* and the Hungarian public; and it is consequently worthy of mention as affording an admirable illustration of the national character. Here it is, as I myself translated it:—

"My dear countrymen!—For here indeed I cannot feel as though it were a mere public that I address—this sword which has been presented to me by the representatives of a nation whose valour and chivalry are so universally admitted, I shall preserve throughout my life, as the treasure which is the dearest and the most precious to my heart.

"To express to you in words at such a moment, when my breast labours with emotion, how deeply I am touched and gratified by this demonstration of your esteem and sympathy, as well as of your warm affection, I feel to be impossible. May I

be permitted, nevertheless, to say a few sentences on our present position?

"This sword, which was once gloriously borne in defence of our dear country, is consigned to-day to weak and pacific hands. Is not this a symbol? Does it not declare, gentlemen, that Hungary, after having covered herself with glory on every battle-field, now asks new honour from the arts, sciences, and literature of peace? Does it not say, gentlemen, that men of application and intelligence have also a noble duty and a high mission to fulfil among you?

"Hungary, gentlemen, must not remain a stranger to any kind of glory. She is destined to move at the head of nations no less by her heroism than by her pacific genius. For us *artistes*, this sword is also a noble image and a striking symbol. Its hilt is enriched with diamonds and rubies, but they are mere accessories—brilliant futilities—the blade makes the weapon! and thus may we ever hold in our hearts, under the thousand fitful forms in which our fancy clothes them, the love of our kind, and of the country which is our life itself!

"Yes, gentlemen; let us follow up, by every legitimate and peaceful mean, the work in which we must all assist, each according to his strength and power.

"And if ever any should dare unjustly or violently to impede us in the accomplishment of this work, then, gentlemen, should it be requisite, let our swords quit their scabbards—they are untarnished, and their blows will fall as heavily as heretofore—and let our blood flow even to the last drop for our rights, our king, and our country!"

I am not going to follow up the transcription of this speech by defending either the consistency or the judiciousness of the gift which produced it; and still less shall I permit myself to analyse the good taste of the whole exhibition. There is probably not another country in the world where it could have occurred without provoking laughter, but the Hungarians are far too earnest in their excitement to induce ridicule.

In Paris such a scene would have dwindled from bombast into twaddle; in London it would have commenced with an uproar and ended with a

dinner; and in both it would have afforded food for pasquinades and party-spirit during the month ensuing; but here all was real, unadulterated, genuine enthusiasm, and the whole population were carried away by one common feeling, for while the royalists worshipped the *artiste* who had earned for their country a name among the *virtuosi* of Europe, the reformers saw in the *man* a patriot who loved that country better than his own fame; and thus, though he was crowned with bays at the Conservatorio by the hands of one of the fairest maidens of the land, who, accompanied by eight of her companions, habited in flowing robes of white, as representatives of the muses, received him with a strain of melody amid which his own name was audible, there was not one voice in the city uplifted in blame, not one lip curled in scorn.

When he left the theatre on the occasion which I have described, he was attended to his residence by upwards of five thousand persons. Not a mob of the idle and the vagabond, but all the young men of family and fortune in the city, the tradesmen, and the students; half the number carried torches;

and a band of ninety persons, all amateurs, headed the procession. In short, during the fortnight of his residence in Pesth, the existence of Liszt was one continual triumph; and his departure created universal regret, in which I, stranger though I was, sincerely participated.

CHAPTER XXII.

PRINCE ESTERHÁZY AND HIS PALACES — RETURN ACROSS THE FRONTIER—NEUSTADT—POSSENDORF—EISENSTADT — THE PALACE — THE SUCCESSION-HOUSES—M. FETISH—THE PLEASAUNCE—THE LEICHTENSTEIN TEMPLE—MONUMENT OF HAYDN—THE RITTER-SAAL—THE DEER-PARK— BATTUES — DEER-STALKING AT OZORA—PROJECTED RAILWAY—BRITISH TREATY OF COMMERCE—PRODUCTS OF SOPRON — PATRIARCHAL FAMILIES — PEASANTS OF THE RABAN—ROMAN ROAD—ESTERHÁZY—THE MAGIC OF PASSION — THE PRINCELY LOVER — THE IMPERIAL MISTRESS — THE HANSÁG — WATER-FOWL — SPORTING PARTIES — THE WILD BOY — MAGNIFICENCE — THE SALOONS—THE CHINA-ROOMS—APARTMENTS OF THE EMPRESS—CRYPT—SALOONS—PORTRAITS—THEATRES THE BAGATELLE—LANDED PROPERTY OF THE PRINCE IN SOPRON—HAYDN AND HUMMEL.

It is almost needless to remark that any traveller who leaves Hungary without visiting some of the

splendid estates of Prince Esterházy, will find the omission subject of sincere regret until it can be repaired. Even to those tourists who do not desire to stretch far beyond Vienna, this enjoyment is not denied, as the lordly domains of Esterházy and Eisenstadt, and the feudal castle of Forchenstein are all situated near the frontier; and are the most magnificent of the Prince's numerous possessions.

An excursion to these three palaces may be made from the Austrian capital, and the traveller comfortably back again in his hotel in four or five days; while the fertility of the country through which he passes, and the historical associations with which the neighbourhood is rife, render it one of the most agreeable that he can undertake.

Various circumstances had compelled us, during our sojourn in the country, to deny ourselves the gratification of this tour; and we had taken leave with tearful regret of the high-hearted Hungarians, and reached "the Imperial City" on our homeward journey, when I one day found myself at the table of the Prince arranging my return across the frontier, with all the accessories to speed

and comfort which his flattering and munificent care could suggest.

My heart bounded as our light calèche flew along at the wake of the four fine bays with which he had courteously provided us, for the very thought of recrossing the frontier, and feeling myself to be once more in Hungary brought with it its own joy. All was sunshine above and about us; and it was not long ere we had passed under the long sloping pole, painted in stripes of black and yellow, which defines the limits of Austria, and occasionally closes the way; the formidable barrier flanked with soldiery, and custom-house officers, where the most impatient travellers are sure to be the longest detained; where passports are made to give up the secret of personal identity; and where smugglers tremble beneath the searching eyes and hands of men in power.

In our case there was not an instant's stoppage, for the livery of the postilions sufficed; and the shout of "Friends of the Prince, on their way to Eisenstadt" was answered by a silent nod from the guardian of the gate, as he quietly turned away.

The first town that we traversed was Neu-

stadt, which is now essentially Austrian, but where the Magyars formerly held sway; and within whose walls many a rebel against the new government has been from time to time decapitated. It is a cheerful-looking place, but without any remarkable feature to delay the progress of the traveller.

Thence to Possendorf the road is finely wooded, and snatches of great landscape beauty beguile the way until the town is reached, where may still be seen the famous round table of marble, with a golden rose in the centre, at which the conspiracy, known as "the conspiracy *sub rosa*," was organized by the Counts Nádásdy, Zrinyi, Frangepan, and other disaffected nobles.

At Possendorf Prince Esterházy possesses a château surrounded by an extensive and beautiful *pleasaunce*, which is the favourite summer retreat of the Princess. The late Prince expended many thousands yearly on this estate, where he formed a collection of rare and curious water-fowl, among which were found what at that period was a *rara avis in terris*, a number of black swans; and to such a height of luxury did he carry this parti-

cular taste that an ornithological physician was maintained at a considerable expense on the establishment. Hence, constantly traversing the possessions of the same magnificent Magnate, the traveller reaches Eisenstadt, (Kis-Márson,) a small city of which the upper portion is also the property of the prince, and in whose stately palace the greatest pomp has been maintained for ages by his illustrious house.

This noble pile is approached through an iron gate, which admits the visitor into a vast court, along one entire side of which the palace stretches its lordly length; while the barracks of the Prince's grenadier regiment, who are constantly on duty at Eisenstadt, form the opposite line. Their uniform is handsome, and they are a remarkably fine-looking body of men.

According to the arrangements made by his Highness, Eisenstadt was to be our head-quarters during the excursion; and when we arrived we found everything prepared for our reception in the most kind and perfect manner; and after having thoroughly restored our numbed feet and fingers at the genial blaze of a huge wood fire,

which was roaring and crackling up the wide chimney, we sprang without further delay into the pony-phaeton, which was in waiting to convey us to the succession-houses.

Much as I had heard on the subject of these celebrated *serres*, I was totally unprepared for the reality. Their extent is most extraordinary, but that is their least attraction; it being a well-ascertained and undisputed fact that Europe contains not such another collection of rare and exotic plants; while it is probable that care, taste, and judgment have never before been more thoroughly exerted, or more eminently successful, than in the case of M. Fetish, the comptroller of the gardens, whose life has been principally passed at Eisenstadt, and whose enthusiasm for his profession is genuine and sincere.

The courtesy and patience with which he receives visitors, and the pride, and almost love, with which he leads them on from one floral wonder to another, must always command the best thanks of those who have been placed under his guidance; while his acquaintance with almost every European country, most of which he has

visited in order to increase the treasures under his care, renders him a very agreeable *cicerone*. There is scarcely a nobleman's seat in England with which he is not acquainted; and he talks of Stowe, and White-Knights, and Frogmore, and fifty others, in connexion with particular plants which he acquired at each; while he was greatly delighted at my mother's recognition of an entire house-full of fine Cape plants which she remembered at Malmaison, from the fact of their being arranged at Eisenstadt precisely as they were in the conservatory of their ill-fated mistress.

The seasons had been effectually set at defiance, and we walked from one *serre* to another for upwards of an hour, amid a world of flowers of every clime and colour. They counted the varieties of camillias by scores, and of roses and geraniums by hundreds. Oranges and lemons, bud, bloom, and fruit, formed a mimic forest; while the lordly palm and the graceful cocoa towered in true Oriental pride above them; and the sweet violet, and the Cape jessamine carpeted many a spot beside the marble fountains, which shed their cold clear spray on all within the reach of their dan-

cing waters. The heaths and ferns were one mass of variegated beauty; and in short, there can be no doubt that the conservatories of Eisenstadt are a world's wonder.

In addition to this wilderness of greenhouses, M. Fetish reigns supreme over the whole stretch of gardens and pleasure-grounds, amounting to between ninety and a hundred English acres; the whole of which are kept in the most exquisite order, and distributed with the greatest taste. The land is flung about in the most picturesque manner; and art has so ably seconded nature, that combined they have left nothing to desire. Wood, water, hill, and dale diversify the scene; while a graceful temple of white marble, containing a statue of the Prince's sister, the beautiful Countess of Lichtenstein, by Canova,—and on the steep acclivity of a height near the verge of the domain, a monument to the immortal Haydn, (who was *Kapelle-meister* at Esterház,) complete the interest of the home-landscape. From many points in the grounds noble views are obtained of the far-stretching lake called the Seliedler-See, lying like a huge sheet of silver in the sunshine,

fringed with timber, and framed in by mountains.

The garden-façade of the palace is very handsome; the centre being ornamented with a double peristyle, forming a fine terrace-walk, and the wings extending in a long line on either side. The interior is one variety of magnificence; *l'embarras des richesses* may truly be said to be there demonstrated. Nothing can exceed the regality of every portion of the establishment. The saloons and chambers are fitted up with the utmost splendour; every quarter of the globe has been ransacked to complete their costly luxury; and the extraordinary collection of old and curious china that they contain is probably unequalled in Europe.

Suites of apartments, known as those of the Palatines Paul, and Nicholas, and other members of the Princely family, some of them entirely lined with Chinese-japan, others with tapestry, and others again with richly gilt leather, diverge in every direction; but the pride of Eisenstadt is its Ritter-Saal, a vast apartment in which, on the inauguration of the present Prince as Hereditary

Supreme Count of Sopron, (in which Comitat the town and palace of Eisenstadt are situated,) fourteen hundred persons sat down to table.

Nothing can be imagined more lordly than the appearance of this spacious apartment, whose walls and roof are richly painted in fresco, and whence lateral galleries give ingress to the hundred and six "guest-rooms" of the palace. The original structure was a moated fortress, formed simply by one round tower and the *Ritter-Saal*, which has gradually grown into the present stately edifice. The Deer-park is two leagues in diameter, well stocked, and forms an appropriate and lordly appendage of the immense pile to which it is attached.

In the environs of Eisenstadt *battues* take place every second or third year, when the slaughter of small game is said to be incalculable; but the principal sporting estate of the Prince is at Ozora in Lower Hungary, where deer-stalking is pursued with an avidity and skill worthy of the Highlands, and on a much more magnificent scale.

The animals are surrounded for an extent of

several miles by many thousands of the Prince's serfs, and confined within the circle during the night by means of numerous fires kindled in all directions, which afford, as I was assured, a *coup d'œil* almost unequalled in its wild and exciting character.

On the third day the circle becomes so contracted that the deer can be imprisoned within a gigantic net-work two or three English miles in circumference, in the midst of which are placed the huntsmen, from twenty to forty of whom generally destroy during the three days about a thousand head of deer, many of which are of extraordinary size. This sport occurs triennially; and it seldom takes place without the participation of some of our own nobility.

The town of Sopron, the capital of the county so called, contains about sixteen thousand inhabitants; and holds a weekly fair for corn and cattle.

Baron Sina's railroad from Vienna to Sopron, and thence to Pesth through Raab, will undoubtedly tend to increase the commercial and social prosperity of those particular cities; but it would

be a national benefit were it to extend from Sopron through the counties of Vas and Zala, to Trieste. Austria, however, appears anxious to prevent this, by the formation of a railway from Vienna to Trieste through her own provinces and Styria, although it must be palpable that were even good common roads made in the first-named direction, they would at once render such a line of road nearly useless, as the principal portion of the merchandise from Trieste would naturally be conveyed through Hungary to Vienna.

Did Prince Esterházy desire to further this object, I have been informed by several very intelligent persons, that he could readily make a railway at very trifling expense from Sopron to Lendva, an extent of eighty English miles, all the materials being ready on his estates; whence the Count Festitits might, in like manner, continue it to the frontiers of Styria; and the Styrians, in their turn, on to Trieste. This would undeniably be the best and most direct line of communication with Vienna; but as unfortunately the Austrian and Hungarian commercial interests are directly opposed, it is to be feared that in this

instance, as in most others, the stronger party will overrule the weaker; and, moreover, as Austria draws a very inconsiderable revenue from Hungary, (when the million of silver florins extracted annually from her mines are excepted,) she seeks to derive a greater advantage from the Subject-Kingdom by levying heavy duties upon all her productions on the frontiers.

The British Government have lately entered into a Treaty of Commerce with the Cabinet of Vienna; but it is nevertheless an incontrovertible fact that the English know literally nothing either of the capabilities or liabilities of Hungary, by far the most important commercial portion of the Germanic Empire; and that they have yet to learn the extent of her resources, and the real position which she occupies as a trading country.

While on the subject of Sopron I must not omit to mention its wine and dried fruits, which are highly esteemed; nor the fact that the little town of Rust in its vicinity produces the Ruster wine, which I have noticed elsewhere as being second in quality only to those of Tokay and Menes.

A portion of the county of Sopron is called Raban, in consequence of its being enclosed by the river Raab, which is probably one great cause of its exceeding fertility. The great plain of Raban produces corn nearly as excellent as that of the Banat; while on the banks of the river there are oaks measuring seven French feet in diameter. The plain itself is about eighty square English miles in extent, and is populated by a very fine race of native Hungarians, interspersed with many families of *bockoros nemesek*, or country nobles, who live in a very patriarchal and hospitable manner.

In these families, be they as numerous as they may, the eldest son constantly remains at home as sole and undisputed master, the younger brothers being his obedient and unmurmuring vassals. When one of the daughters marries, her dower is a decent provision of personal and household linen, and a cow. The sons labour on the land; and yet, with all this simplicity of habit, the peasant-noble never omits to assert his privileges; and always insists on the election of

some wealthy and popular individual of his own order, as Vice-Count of the Comitat.

There are peasants in the Raban who bring to the fair of Sopron from five to six hundred bushels of grain; and who possess fifty or sixty horses, and a herd of oxen. The horses of this part of the country are of middling size, finely formed, and capable of enduring great fatigue. A friend of mine, with only a pair of them in a light country calèche, travelled a hundred and forty English miles in thirty hours, and the animals did not suffer in the slightest degree from the exertion.

There are traces of a great Roman road from their colony of Sabaria (County of Vas) through the Raban, which is still sufficiently distinct to afford a point of interest to the antiquarian traveller.

Having explored the neighbourhood, and seen all the "lions" of Eisenstadt, we started for Esterház, the principal seat of the Prince; which, in addition to its great extent and intrinsic magnificence, is also remarkable both for the motive of its erection, and the peculiarity of its situation.

It stands upon the lip of an immense marsh, known as the *Hanság*, which extends over upwards of fifty English miles; and in the centre of a dreary and monotonous stretch of country, like some stupendous creation, called into existence by the spell of an Enchanter.

And there *was* magic in the rearing of that stately pile—the resistless and marvel-working magic of high and chivalrous passion. It was the love of the ancestor of the present Prince for the most illustrious and proudest lady of the realm—the crowned Queen of a free nation, and the widow of an Emperor—the love of an Esterházy for Maria Theresa of Austria—which caused the gorgeous palace to grow up, stately without, and wonderful within; with its theatres and music-halls, its saloons and galleries, its pearl-inlaid bower-chambers and velvet-lined boudoirs. It was the desire to give an agreeable surprise to his high-born and high-hearted mistress, which induced the Prince resolutely to grapple with all the difficulties of soil, and site, and solitude; and to create amid the waste a paradise of fertility and beauty.

Park-like gardens, dense woods, and fair sheets of water, surround the imperial pile, contrasting with and partially veiling the desolation beyond; and are intersected by labyrinths amid which the old Prince Nicholas delighted to bewilder his visitors, and after having suffered them to wander for awhile without a clue, himself to supply the Ariádne-thread necessary to free them from their pretty prison.

In the extensive and well-enclosed Deer-park, which (including the Plaisaunce) extends over eighteen hundred English acres, wild boars formerly abounded, but they have now almost entirely disappeared.

Before I attempt a description of the palace and its immediate dependencies, however, I will give a slight sketch of the Hanság, which is sufficiently singular to merit mention.

This extraordinary marsh stretches from Sopron to the county of Oedenberg, and extends over a space of fifty square English miles. It was originally formed by the overflow of a number of small streams, and is connected with the lake called the Fertö-(Neusiedl-)see.

It was formerly very inconsiderable in size, but has gradually spread so much as to have covered the land occupied by five villages only two centuries ago; and nothing is now to be seen but one wide swamp, where once the lowing of cattle, the whistle of the husbandman, and the glad voices of children, awoke the echoes which now repeat only the shrill cries of the aquatic fowl, and the hoarse croakings of the frogs, which seem to have established in the Hanság their chief city of refuge.

Patches of soft green turf as bright as emeralds are scattered over the marsh, relieving the eye and tempting the foot; but they are a mere treacherous mantle of beauty flung over the quagmire, which upon the least pressure sinks down and down, until at length it closes sullenly and irretrievably over the weight that crushed it. Intermingled with these seeming meadows are immense masses of forest equally impervious to the tread, but rendered picturesque by the numerous runlets of water, fringed with reeds and rushes, and here and there mingling and expanding into a miniature lake of a mile or a mile and a half in circum-

ference, frequently entirely covered by tens of thousands of moorfowl and other water-birds, among which are many of a very rare description, and others which are peculiar to the locality.

A large collection of aquatic birds from the Hanság is now in the Museum of Pesth, but as yet the native naturalists have failed in obtaining all the varieties.

A sportsman could not probably select a spot throughout the world more favourable for the indulgence of his peculiar passion than this gigantic swamp, which is frequented by every peasant in the neighbourhood competent to use a rifle. Parties constantly sally forth from the adjacent villages of Kapuvár, Esterház, and Fraukirchen an hour before sunset, and take up a position among the canes breast-high in mud and water, maintaining a profound silence. There they remain motionless as it sinks slowly through the Heavens, turning the wide marsh into one glittering sheet of changeful metal, and then vanishing amid a gorgeous panoply of gold and purple.

But at that moment their watch is over, and the deep and dreary silence is suddenly broken by the

rushing of myriads of wings, as a black cloud rises from the bosom of the swamp, which spreads and parts in every direction; some portions scarcely skimming above the surface of the earth, others darting upwards toward the clear sky, and the remainder passing heavily through the air at about the level of a tall man's lifted hand. Wild ducks, geese, and even swans compose these multitudinous aquatic congeries; and the noise with which they rise, and separate like flying armies, is almost deafening.

The effect of this sudden and far-stretching movement of the countless birds is naturally most exciting to the sportsman, while to the novice it proves, as I was assured, so perfectly bewildering that a young and impetuous shot frequently fails to overcome his confusion sufficiently during the half hour of their passage to hit a single duck; while the cool and experienced partaker of the sport will in the same interval bring down a dozen with ease.

On the small lakes to which I have already alluded, and which generally occur towards the centre of the marsh, moorfowl shooting is a

favourite amusement. The birds inhabit these pieces of water in such numbers that thousands of them are seen at the same time sporting upon the ripple, or diving in pursuit of prey. Thirty or forty gentlemen generally meet together to indulge in the sport at least once every year; and giving each other the *rendezvous* in one of the adjacent villages at daybreak, each hires a small boat with a single rower, who also carries a rifle, when one of the party having been appointed director, the rest are bound to obey his signals; and thus in proper order they surround the whole sheet of water, drive up the birds, and fire until they have entirely dispersed the flock.

The director then collecting his fleet by the blast of a hunting-horn, once more marshals them onward; and thus they continue throughout the day to rout colony after colony, until evening and weariness fall upon them together.

The dinner is always joyous and profuse: the boats are drawn up in line, broadside to broadside, and shouts of laughter and snatches of merry song, succeed to the sharp report of the rifles, and the shrieks of the stricken birds.

These sporting parties are generally given by the land-stewards of Prince Esterházy, to whom the principal portion of the giant marsh, as I have already stated, belongs; and the late Prince raised a road twenty miles long through its centre, at an expense of several millions of florins, to his palace of Esterház.

Before I quit the subject of the Hanság, I must not omit to mention a very curious fact connected with it.

About the middle of the last century a fisherman succeeded in capturing in one of its marshy forests (which is between thirteen and fourteen thousand acres in extent) hidden among a tuft of canes, a wild boy of nine or ten years of age. He was perfectly naked, the nails of his fingers had grown into such size and shape that they had become very formidable weapons, and his unkempt and matted hair was twisted about his head like a natural turban. He ran, swam, and leapt, with the greatest speed and dexterity; and dived for fish, and pursued toads and frogs, which were his favourite food, with all the skill of a water-bird. He was secured with great difficulty, and carried

to Kapuvár, where he was baptized by the popular Hungarian name of Stephen.

Many efforts were made to instruct him, but he appeared to be human only in appearance, and to be utterly incapable of every mental exertion. At speech he could not be brought to make the slightest effort, and continued to the last to express his wishes or feelings by a succession of shrill hissing sounds, bearing no affinity whatever to the intonations of the human voice.

A constant watch was kept over him, but he nevertheless ultimately succeeded in evading the vigilance of his keeper, by springing from the window of the Castle of Kapuvár, in which he was confined, into the lake beneath it, when he was soon lost to sight; and although a strict search was immediately instituted, he was irrecoverably lost; nor was he ever again seen save on one occasion when he crossed the path of a sportsman who was crouching among the reeds on the watch for wild-fowl; but who only obtained a transient glimpse of him as he dived beneath the water.

This well-attested fact is inserted in the archives of Kapuvár, and no rational doubt can be enter-

tained of its authenticity. Among the curiosities in the Palace of Esterház, is a frightful wooden figure of this monster-boy in the act of devouring a frog, which was made during the period of his capture, and was shown to us by the house-steward.

Despite the depredations of the French, who during their war with Austria carried off many of the rare and costly ornaments with which the lordly pile was enriched, enough of its ancient magnificence yet remains to render it unequalled in the world as the abode of a subject. But so numerous are the estates of the Prince that none of the family have resided at Esterház for the last forty years.

The whole establishment is on a scale which may without exaggeration be described as regal; while the palace itself is colossal in its proportions. The finest suite of rooms are necessarily those known as the apartments of Maria Theresa, of which the velvet and satin furniture and hangings are one mass of gold and silver embroidery.

These open from one of the noblest saloons probably in existence. Its height and its dimen-

sions are alike imposing; while the extreme finish of the fine designs upon its walls and ceiling, combined with the elegance of the outer apartment with its decorations of white and gold, by which it is approached, render it as attractive as it is magnificent. This saloon occupies the centre of the building, and opens on the garden side upon a fine terrace of marble, whence the eye travels over the vast extent of park and plaisaunce, hemmed in on one hand by the theatre, and on the other by the stabling, which will accommodate upwards of one hundred horses.

The approach to the palace is not fine, nor does the building itself look well from a distance; it is only on driving into the spacious semicircular court with its centre fountain, and the stately double-terrace stair surmounted by the blazonry of the noble family to which it belongs, that the majesty and vastness of the pile are fully understood.

We commenced our survey with the china-rooms in the right wing of the building, in which are preserved all the porcelain used by Maria Theresa on her visits to Esterház, and which

would be more than enough to turn the brain of any china-fancier in the world. The extraordinary delf peculiar, if I mistake not, to the reign of Louis XI. of France, is there in all its perfection of ugliness; Chinese monsters contrast with the elegant conceits of Sèvres and Dresden; Egyptian vases and Japannese boxes lend their variety; and the display is altogether one of great interest.

Next in magnificence to the apartments of the Empress are those of the Emperor Joseph and the Princely Palatine himself; in all of which the foreign china, clocks, and statuettes are numerous and beautiful. The boudoir of the present Princess is very elegant, lined entirely with costly Chinese japanning, and containing some very fine bronzes.

To me, however, the most attractive object at Esterház was a sort of crypt-saloon, built like a gothic chapel, with three lines of arches supported by pillars, and richly painted in wreaths of flowers and birds in fresco. This singular apartment also contains several fountains of rock-work, in and about whose basins sport a multitude of water-fowl admirably carved in stone, and coloured to

the life; and it is altogether one of the most extraordinary and beautiful-looking structures imaginable. It opens into the grounds, to which the visitor ascends by a short flight of marble steps; and affords a cool retreat during the heats of summer. This, and the noble collection of ancient pictures, delighted me; the one from its novelty, and the others from their number and beauty, and the local interest attached to them. Half a dozen portraits of Maria Theresa, in every mood and manner; gracious and graceful effigies of the fair dames of the Esterházy family, and their respective lords; and, among others, a quaint and doubtlessly faithful likeness of Haydn, painted when he was Kapelle-meister to the Prince Nicholas; along with which are shown his violin, and a large gold medal, presented to the great Maestro on some occasion by the Academy of Vienna.

The leading feature of the whole establishment at Esterház is immensity: everything is on the most extended scale. The theatre, with its two state-boxes, and gorgeous ornament, is as large as that of the Bourg at Vienna; and in addition to this

one there is a second of less size, in which the actors were *fantoccini*. About a quarter of a mile from the palace, in the centre of a mass of ornamental timber, stands a garden-temple of exquisite proportions, which was formerly entirely lined with carved ivory, mother-of-pearl, and other precious materials, but which is now painted throughout in fresco. It consists of a centre apartment with four lateral cabinets, over which are others of similar size and arrangement; and owes its existence to a remark made by Maria Theresa, when upon some occasion she paused fatigued by an unusually long walk upon that spot, and remarked to the Palatine that he should have provided a halting-place for his guests before he ventured to wile them so far from home. Her lordly lover only bowed in silence, but on the next visit of his Imperial mistress he contrived to direct her steps in the same direction, when she found herself standing in front of the fairy edifice which a hint from her had sufficed to raise.

Her queenly pride and her womanly vanity were

alike flattered; and it was with a flushed cheek that she ascended the marble steps, and entered the glittering hall, whose costly beauty startled even the accustomed eye of the regal lady for whose gratification it had been raised; nor could she, as she glanced around, repress the question which rose to her lips, as to the amount of outlay to which her whim had subjected her magnificent courtier.

The reply fixed it at about seventeen thousand pounds; when the smiling Empress, bowing her thanks, remarked: "It would be a heavy sum for any other noble of my empire to exhaust upon a gallantry, but to you, my lord, it is a mere bagatelle." The remark was sponsor to the building, which from that moment has been called the Bagatelle; although its erection was certainly no trifle to its owner.

Before we left the palace we ascended to the leads, in order to take a view of the surrounding country, of which I have already described the peculiar character. It is in truth an extraordinary sight; and the fair lake of Sedlier-See, with

the sun flashing upon its broad bosom, forms perhaps the most noble feature of the extended landscape.

Nearly two thirds of the extensive county of Sopron are the private property of Prince Esterházy; and both Haydn and Hummel were members of the splendid chapel of Eisenstadt, where the fine and scientific taste of the late Prince fostered into celebrity many of the musical geniuses of his time. It is a pleasant coincidence for Liszt, the Hungarian pianist, that he is also a Sopronite; his father having been one of the land-stewards of the Prince.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SNOW-STORM—CASTLE OF FORCHENSTEIN—FEUDALITY —THE ASCENT—INTERIOR OF THE FORTRESS—POWER OF THE PRINCE—THE PRISONS—THE HANDSOME CULPRIT—THE CHAPEL—BANQUETING-HALL—ANCIENT PORTRAITS—THE FIRST COUNT ESTERHÁZY—BATTLE OF VEZEKING—ARCHIVE-OFFICE—TOWER-CHAMBER—DOMAIN OF FORCHENSTEIN—LOCAL SCHOOLS—GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF ESZTORÓZ—PORTRAITS OF HUNGARIAN HEROES—THE TREASURE-CHAMBER—ANTE-HALL—INGENIOUS EPITAPH—TREASURES—RELICS—THE ARMOURY—THE ARSENAL—MEMORABLE BANNERS—THE CISTERN—REVENUES OF PRINCE ESTERHÁZY—CONCLUSION.

We started for Forchenstein (Hung. Forknó,) in a heavy fall of snow which had lasted throughout the previous night; and traversed a dreary country, which, however, appeared to be well cultivated. Forchenstein is a mountain-fortress, strong, feudal, and ancient; a meet retreat for the bold

barons of a haughty race; and so steep and difficult is the ascent to this rocky stronghold, which on the occasion of our visit was moreover choked with snow, that we were sincerely grateful to find a party of the retainers of the Prince awaiting us at the foot of the range, with two strong horses to drag us up.

The road winds round the face of the rock, now affording a bold view of the bristling fortress, and now shutting it out, and giving to the traveller no object of more scenic interest than the dark and tempest-tossed pines which clothe the sides of the mountain.

But time and toil were alike well repaid on our arrival at the castle, which is the very *beau idéal* of a feudal fortress—the very embodiment of one's early and romantic dreams. Quaint and queer-shaped rooms, formed in the thicknesses of castellated towers; passages, dark and mystic, leading to nothing; dungeons, armouries, banqueting-halls, a chapel grim with age, and damp with mould; and a stone hall, whose meet trophies are spears, and shields, and staves, rusted helms, and battered breastplates.

In this hall we were received by the Governor, the Commandant, and the Keeper of the *Schatzkammer*, or Treasure-Chamber, whom the Prince had most kindly ordered to meet us there, and who preceded us from Eisenstadt where he resides, with the keys of that wondrous hoard of jewels and antique wealth for which the family of Esterházy has long been famous throughout Europe; and which is very rarely exhibited to strangers.

There is undoubtedly more elegance at Eisenstadt, and more magnificence at Esterház, but Forchenstein nevertheless is decidedly the locality which most thoroughly impresses the stranger with the peculiar greatness of the Esterházy family. The most striking feature in the vast possessions of their house is undeniably its amount of land, and subjects or serfs; and although you listen in wonder to the tale elsewhere, you feel its meaning at Forchenstein. In this castle the armoury would suffice to equip three or four regiments without any additional outlay, while the men-at-arms could as readily be found as the weapons. Prince Esterházy is the only individual in the nation, not even excepting the Palatine, who has the *jus*

gladii, or power of life and death; a fact which, although the present possessor of the title has never exercised the privilege, tends to invest his most ancient stronghold with an added interest.

When we had made good our entrance, and had time to look around us after having passed the iron-studded gate of the fortress, my eye at once fell upon the prisons, which are of considerable extent, provided with iron chains, and other appliances of power, and are used for the custody of the felons on the estates of the Prince.

At the period of our visit they contained only a score of captives, among whom was one beautiful girl of nineteen, with the brow of an empress and the eyes of a Brahmin priestess. It was impossible not to remark her, and to feel an interest in her history, which was however quickly quenched by the knowledge that her vice was the plebeian one of theft—paltry, pitiful theft; which was so integral an ingredient of her nature, that after having expiated her first offence, and by her apparent penitence so propitiated the Commandant, that on her release he placed her about the person of his wife as her attendant, she did not suffer

twenty-four hours to elapse ere she committed a new felony, for which she was, when we saw her, undergoing a second incarceration: and yet to look at her!—But it were worse than idle to comment upon such a career.

Having passed the prison with its armed guard, and traversed a covered way, we arrived at the principal entrance of the fortress; and after visiting the crumbling chapel with its tarnished altar and worm-eaten seats, we were conducted up the wide stone staircase, and across the spacious landing-place, where a sentinel presented arms to us as we passed, to the main banqueting-hall; an extensive apartment whose entire length was traversed by a deal table covered with faded tapestry, and whose walls were appropriately hung with time-worn portraits of all the departed Esterházys, of whom the effigies are yet in existence.

The most ancient are those of the first Count, who flourished in 969, and lived to the good old age of one hundred and seventeen years; and of his wife Serena, one of the early Christians, who also lived to be ninety-six. That the

house is as brave as it is ancient is proved in a melancholy manner by the portraits of no less than four Counts Esterházy, a father and his three sons, who all perished on the same day, in the fatal battle of Vezeking in 1652.

That which represents the father is extremely painful, from the circumstance of its having been painted after he was borne dead from the field; and the ghastly sword-wound which caused his death being portrayed with the most terrible precision, and that harrowing minuteness of detail so common with the old masters.

There are also in this apartment noble portraits of the two Palatines Nicholas and Paul, who flourished in the seventeenth century; and who earned to themselves immortal honour by their valiant support of the Austrio-Hungarian throne.

Near to them hang the effigies of the Count Nicholas, who in 1625, when Lord-Palatine, was created first Prince of the name; partly by the influence of his wife, (whose robe of gold brocade looks stiff and stately enough to destroy any beauty less decided than that which the faithful

canvas has transmitted to posterity,) and partly by royal grant; but whose possessions ultimately increased to so gigantic an amount that they excited the jealousy of the reigning dynasty; and it is affirmed that the Austrian Government were by no means displeased when the father of the present Prince, by expending yearly millions in foreign countries, exhausted in no mean degree both his funds and his power.

From the banqueting-hall we descended to the Archive-Office, a vaulted apartment containing the title-deeds of all the family estates; the most ancient of which bore date 1300!

Thence we proceeded to the room in which dinner had been prepared for us; and which being situated in the Square tower, gave us extended views on two sides of the building. The abrupt height of the castle-crowned rock can nowhere be better understood than from these windows, whence you look down into the valley, and see its village dwindled to a congregation of beehives, and its walnut- and olive-trees seeming no bigger than gooseberry-bushes.

The domain of Forchenstein contains three

thousand *jochs** of forest, and fifteen hundred of arable land. In the village-school alone during the winter months, when the children are not required for field-labour, a hundred and fifty scholars are gratuitously educated; but the average amount throughout the entire domain is estimated at about sixteen hundred and fifty. All these children are carefully instructed in reading and writing the Hungarian language, as well as in arithmetic, and the principles of their religion.

Nagy-Martony, (the Jew's town of Forknó,) contains fifteen hundred inhabitants, who are also subjects of Prince Esterházy; and the antiquity of his descent is ingeniously and whimsically, if not altogether satisfactorily proved, in the very apartment to which I have just conducted my readers; where above the ample hearth in which were blazing a collection of huge pine-logs, whose ruddy glow enabled us to look forth without a shiver upon the snow-wreaths with which the forest without was garlanded, hung an immense and very ancient painting representing our common forefather Adam lying upon the earth beneath a

* An Hungarian *joch* measures 1¼ acre English.

huge tree, which springing from his loins, bore instead of leaves the names of all the Esterházys in a direct line from himself to the Magnate of two centuries ago; and where that of Noah among others attested the irreproachable descent of the race. Thus those who contented themselves with tracing the line of Esterházy (or Eszteróz as it was formerly called) only to Attila, failed almost upon the threshold of their task.

In the background of the picture are a score of little rocks, each crowned by a castle, and inscribed with the name of one of the estates of the Prince; that of Esterház is, however, wanting; a proof of chronological accuracy, which is a wonderful voucher for the good-faith and strict conscientiousness of the artist.

One of the galleries of the castle of Forchenstein is replete with interest, being entirely filled with the portraits in oil of all the Hungarian heroes of past ages,—Rákóczy, Báthori, Batthianyi;—but it were vain to attempt their enumeration; for in a country full of high and chivalrous spirit, to do so would be almost volunteering a catalogue of the national aristocracy.

The great "lion" of Forchenstein, however, is of course the Schatz-Kammer; and thither we accordingly repaired, attended by the Treasure-Keeper, the Commandant, and four of the grenadiers on duty at the castle.

The vaulted gallery containing these immense family treasures, of which the costly diamonds worn by their Highnesses in England on occasions of ceremony form a part, is partly hewn in the rock. Like that extraordinary and uncounted hoard in the Serai Bournou at Constantinople, known as the treasure of the Pre-Adamite Sultans, this of Fraknó is imperatively destined to be increased by each successive representative of the race, while none are permitted to subtract a particle from its value; and thus the mighty mass grows on from century to century until at length it buries in inaction the ransom of an Empire.

The vault is approached by an ante-hall rich in ancient weapons and antique armour, the spoils of foughten fields, many of which have been wrested from Tartar and Turkish foemen; and among these we were shown the bloody shirt and

uniform worn by an Esterházy who was killed at the siege of Belgrade in 1790.

Above the low arch of the iron-plated door of the Schatz-Kammer is inscribed the ingenious epigraph *Hic sermo de præteritis, præsentibus atque futuris;* and the threshold once passed, the stranger stands amid such a wilderness of wealth as he can never assuredly have previously conceived.

The long gallery is lined on either hand by glass cases, and within these are heaped gold and silver plates; jewelled vessels of every variety of form and material; rich stuffs embroidered with coloured gems and pearls; masses of opals, amethysts, and topaz in the matrix; weapons, armour, and horse-gear literally blazing with precious stones; and, in short, every variety of treasure which the profusion and ingenuity of man can collect together. Nor is the intrinsic value of many of the objects their greatest actual attraction, for they are in numerous instances well-authenticated relics of the great and the brave of bygone years; and to those who love to linger

over the past; there is ever a more powerful charm in such remains than in the most costly articles of *virtù* ever collected together.

Among the confusion of splendour by which we were surrounded, we particularly remarked a clock two hundred years old, formed of beaten silver, and literally incrusted with jewels and intaglii; four large drinking cups of carved ivory, so minutely wrought that they appeared to be composed of lace; an amber cup and tankard, both ornamented with a processionof Bacchantes, in exquisite workmanship; a workbox of seed-pearl and turquoise; a champagne-pail, of silver-gilt studded with precious stones, and bearing date 1698; a table and two armchairs of chased silver, made in 1667, for the use of the Palatine Esterházy and his wife; an elephant's tusk, carved from end to end with a religious procession of the Hindoos in minute workmanship; a string of rings, principally *rococo*, many of them containing gems of extraordinary size and beauty, and about one hundred in number; and a christening mantle of rose-coloured silk, trimmed with split straw, one of the most curious and beautiful productions imaginable.

The collection of jewelled weapons, shields, and war-trappings was most amazing, and derived an added interest in most cases from an accompanying certificate of identification. Thus, we handled the ruby-hilted sword wielded by the unfortunate Louis at Mohács—the pocket-knife of the Emperor Sigismund—the celebrated pearl bridal vest of the Palatine Paul Esterházy, upon whose ground of rose-coloured damask is wrought a pattern of seed-pearls, the centre of every flower being formed by long links of the precious beads which hang loose, and are strung so closely together as almost to conceal the material of the garment; the ruby-studded saddle-cloth of the Vézir Mustapha, made captive by an Esterházy on a hard-fought field; the coral rosary of Stephen Báthori; the gold-brocaded vest of Matthias Corvinus; and that of John Sobiesky, also of rich brocade, a beautiful specimen of the needlework of the seventeenth century.

But it were endless to attempt an enumeration of the costly contents of the Schatz-Kammer of Forchenstein; suffice it that after having lingered among its treasures until both our eyes and our

senses ached, we proceeded to the armoury, where weapons and accoutrements for one cavalry and one infantry regiment, each twelve hundred strong, are always in readiness. Everything was in admirable order; and from thence we progressed to the Arsenal, where in addition to the ammunition, and the beautiful brass guns intended for the protection of the fortress in time of need, we found the banners of Sobiesky, Matthias Corvinus, and Bethlem Gábor; a glorious drapery of departed greatness!

Not a stone's throw from the Arsenal is an extraordinary water-cistern intended for the supply of the fortress during siege. It is entirely hewn in the rock, to the depth of four hundred and fifty-five feet; and was excavated by three hundred Turkish prisoners taken by the Palatine Esterházy about the year 1625. The mouth of the well is enclosed by a breast-wall of stone, and the echo yields a treble repetition with the greatest clearness and accuracy, even of the slightest whisper; while a rocket, which was ignited and flung in by the Commandant, gave back an explosion like the roar of a whole park of artillery, which could be dis-

tinctly heard, for miles. The water was of fine quality, and in immense volume.

It was with the greatest regret that we bade farewell to the mountain-fortress of Forknó, and once more turned our faces Vienna-ward; but we had no time to linger; and we a second time passed the Hungarian frontier, full of gratitude for the courtesy and kindness with which we had been met on all sides.

Much curiosity exists in England with regard to the actual amount of the revenues of the Prince Esterházy, whose very name suffices to excite interest; and, as far as my information goes, it may be relied upon; but it must be remembered that positive accuracy on so intricate a subject is almost impossible in a country like that of which I write. Prince Esterházy possesses, in addition to his three palaces, in Vienna, and his domains in Bohemia, one thirteenth part of the whole kingdom of Hungary. He has thirty-six estates, each containing from ten to twenty-four villages; which, together with one hundred square English miles of forest, make collectively nearly

one thousand two hundred square miles; and Hungary covering a surface of seventeen thousand, proves the position. Nor is this gigantic and overwhelming landed property his only source of revenue; the number of his peasants (here called subjects) amounting to three hundred and sixty thousand, with all their liabilities, which I have explained at length elsewhere; and a constant capital of two hundred and twenty thousand sheep, (producing yearly four thousand hundredweight of wool, most of which is of superior quality,) remaining to be superadded: and yet, nevertheless, this colossal heritage, exceeding in extent the Grand Duchy of Modena, as well as several of the petty German states, does not carry his actual revenue to a higher aggregate than one and a half millions of florins, (one hundred and fifty thousand pounds,) thus making the annual proceeds of the land average only sixpence an acre!

With this chapter of Palaces and their magnificent owner, I take my leave of Hungary—to whose memory I never revert without regret and respect; and where I spent hours of happiness for which I am indebted to the graceful courtesy of

some of its best and noblest; in the full and earnest hope that my volumes may not contain one word to wound, nor one sentence to mislead; but that they may serve to induce the interest and sympathy of my own countrymen towards the inhabitants of the Nation and City of the Magyar.

APPENDIX.

I.

Second Message (Nuncium) *from the States to the Upper House, on the Method of obtaining Redress for the Violation of the Legitimate Liberty of Speech, and Considerations connected therewith.*

PUBLICITY, and Legitimate Liberty of Speech—those essential requisites of Constitutional Freedom and Legitimate National Independence,—were the very important subjects in connection with the public welfare, which the States, at the commencement of the present Diet, took with bleeding hearts under their protection: and while they deeply lamented the gross infringement of those privileges, they resolved in the first place to submit the apprehensions which they entertained on the violation of their rights, to the paternal solicitude of His Majesty.

With steady confidence they had asked and hoped from the Chamber of Magnates the encouragement of sympathy and assistance; and from the justice of the Throne the termination of their anxieties; and it was consequently painful to them to witness the manner in

which the Upper Table, rejecting the document drawn up to effect this end, had suffered entire weeks to elapse before they took into consideration the griefs *(gravamina)* laid before them.

Nevertheless, the justice of the cause, and the sanctity of the law, sustained alike confidence and hope. The States therefore suppressed any new or indignant expression of their complaint, for they believed that the obstacles causing this delay once removed, an union of both the Chambers would necessarily induce a sure and speedy attainment of their object.

Now, therefore, they cannot longer conceal their unfeigned and heartfelt sorrow, when they see that the Magnates openly oppose every attempt to lay their just grievances before the Sovereign; and that, moreover, they not only excuse, but even approve and defend, the Ordinances of the Government, and the proceedings of the Judicial Courts upon which they are founded.

The States would willingly have waived a tedious and circumstantial declaration of these *griefs*, feeling a conviction that they were so notorious and so undeniable that the simplest statement would be sufficient to awaken sympathy, and to procure redress; but the unexpected and painfully-surprising answer of the Upper Chamber (*Renuncium*) forces the States to enter into fuller detail, as they can neither be convinced by the arguments of the Magnates, nor admit the principles which they advocate.

As regards the Government Ordinances, the Upper Chamber sees no grievance in the fact of the Government having brought several individuals to trial, but on

the contrary maintains that the Executive power was not only free to do so, but actually performed its duty in maintenance of the public safety and order, which it is compelled to preserve inviolate, by placing before a legal judge every citizen whom it regards as guilty, and rendering him legally responsible for his transgression.

In a Constitutional country, the Executive, however, has its limit assigned by law; and more particularly in our country, where it can only be exercised in the spirit of the laws, conformably to the 12th Art. 1790–91. When, therefore, the Government exceeds those limits, it creates of itself a *grief* by its infringement of the law; and it becomes the sacred duty of the whole legislative body to bring it back within the bounds legally assigned.

If it were really in the power of the Government to summon any individual before a Judicial Court, for actions which, although not illegal, that Government might desire to prevent—if, moreover, it depended on the will of the Government, to subject even for a minor offence, any one whom it might consider as guilty, to such a trial by law as was meant only to adjudge crimes of magnitude; and to give such an extension to the laws as must prove injurious to personal liberty; then would the legislative functions be exercised by the Government—but this is in open opposition to the fundamental laws of our Constitution; and especially to the above-named Article 12, of the year 1790–91.

When the Government instituted trials for treason, it committed precisely this error by the act; for where is the law which authorises the Government to subject

a free citizen to a treasonable process, merely for the open expression of his opinions at county meetings on occasions of public deliberation?* By the express words and simple interpretation of what particular law can it justify the measure of making the expression of individual opinions at public meetings subject for a trial for treason? when, moreover, it was followed by no offence, led to no illegal action, and when the subjects on which the speaker wished a resolution to be taken, were lawful and constitutional? On what law is that right based by virtue of which the Government threateningly forbids a private citizen to continue in his confidential letters all mention of subjects which had been publicly discussed at County-Meetings,† while during the last Diet it neither prevented, nor considered as culpable, a similar correspondence carried on by several persons publicly, and with the knowledge of the whole country, for nearly three years and a half? By virtue of what law is it that the same citizen, because he continued his private communications, after a judicial prohibition, which was made without forwarding or showing to him the prohibitory order, was deprived of his liberty, and subjected to a trial for treason? And if no distinct laws exist on this subject, whence is derived that power of the Government, by which (it signifies little for what purpose,) it interprets partially the enactments of the penal laws, in order to oppress private citizens; and wrests from them their natural signification?

The Government has, by its above-mentioned ordi-

* The Baron Wesselényi is here alluded to.
† M. Kossuth.

nances, violated the 69th Title of Part 2nd of the *Liber Tripartitus*, the 89th Article of the year 1635, the 62nd of 1625, and the 57th of 1723; it has infringed the enactments of the Articles 78, 79, and 80, of the year 1563; it has moreover interpreted arbitrarily the laws respecting treason; viz. the 14th Title of the first part of Verböczy, and the 9th article of the year 1723; and thus, by instituting the proceedings in question, it has exceeded the limits of the 12th article of the year 1790 -91, and thereby acted in a manner prejudicial to the rights of both the private citizen and the whole State.

The fact that it is the judge who pronounces upon the guilt or the innocence of the accused party; and the assertion that under these circumstances the Government merely does its duty without infringing any right, when it brings that party before his legitimate judge, where the innocent is naturally acquitted, cannot give legitimacy to the proceedings of the Government; for in such cases, the summons before a judicial court is in itself a great grievance; which, as well as creating much trouble and outlay, disturbs the peace of those so arraigned, and endangers their lives, property, and honour. Imprisonment frequently, as in one of the present cases, occasioning bodily suffering;* while the waste of time and exertion, the anxiety undergone, the pain inflicted, and the days worn away in prison, are beyond the atonement of any power, or the compensation of any acquitting verdict. Moreover, the greater

* The allusion is again to Baron Wesselényi, whom the Government in the spring of 1839 permitted on his parole to proceed to Graefenberg, it being apprehended by his medical adviser that he ran a risk of becoming blind.

the power which is exerted against individual citizens, the more difficult it becomes to compensate their mortifications and sufferings.

Even as regards the State, the prosecution of such proceedings is injurious, and rife with evil consequences; for the discouraging effects produced by such measures on the part of the Government, restrain legal liberty of speech, lessen the interest felt in public discussions, and by weakening the generous zeal of patriotic spirits, shake the independence of the nation to its very foundations, and trammel the legislative body in the free exercise of its noble functions.

The Government has also, by disregarding the civil authorities, and arresting the accused through the intervention of a military force, created another grievance *(gravamen)*, and violated the 14th Article of the year 1687.

It is true that the noble Magnates have affirmed that the 14th Article of 1687 is to be understood as treating only of such offences as are committed in single jurisdictions, and subjected to their judgment; and that it contains no enactment upon misdemeanors which affect the State. No law, however, has declared that the civil authorities can be set aside when individuals are to be arrested; and consequently, to harass citizens by military force without the knowledge of the local authorities, is a violation of the personal safety of those citizens, as well as of the legitimate province and privileges of the civil authorities.

The noble Magnates defend the Government in its illegal measure of arresting Louis Kossuth, accused of

treason, before he received a summons, by alleging that the 14th Article of 1687 allows such nobly-born persons as possess no property besides their dwelling, to be arrested in case of even slighter offences. But subsequently to this a law was enacted (the 7th Article of the year 1715) which declares in the plainest terms that, in cases of treason, the summons must always take place before the arrestation, and must not be omitted under any pretence. The plain words of this law admit of no exception, nor do they allow any other interpretation; and when the Government endeavours to extend the exceptions of a former law to a later one, of which the clear enactments utterly reject every exception, it again stoops to a partial interpretation of the law, and exerts its power in their despite.

The States forbear to urge any further the other *grievances* arising from the acts of the Government, considering what they have already stated in the first Message *(Nuncium)*, and in the Proposition of Representation, as amply sufficient to support their arguments.

With regard to the *Gravamen* arising from the proceedings and sentences of the superior tribunals, the Noble Magnates maintain that "they cannot be considered illegal; for, inasmuch as it is on the one hand the undeniable privilege of the whole legislative body to regulate henceforward the functions of the tribunals, either by framing new and more precise rules, or by abolishing or modifying the old ones; so on the other hand, the judicial sentences of constitutional judges, not merely the executive, but also the legislative

power, should be exempt from, and independent of, every extraneous influence."

Nevertheless, neither the judicature nor the executive is independent of the influence and laws of the State. The legitimate independence of the Tribunals consists in the conscientious application of particular cases; the enactment of the laws; a strict observance of those legal forms which have been established for the security of individuals; and in maintaining themselves free of all compulsatory and restrictive authority; while, at the same time that no consideration must induce them to violate the laws, they are not responsible to any worldly power. But—that when the Judge exceeds his legal privilege—when he perverts the regular course of justice—when he refuses to the accused a legal defence—when he arbitrarily alters the law, and gives to it an interpretation unfavourable to the accused, inducing too much severity, or disproportionate punishment—when he thus illegally exercises his power to the oppression of individual citizens—then the States deny that the legislature does not possess a right to declare the illegality of that sentence.

Were the independence of the Judicial office to receive so great an extension, the civil officers of the State whose noble vocation it is to act as the guardians of the laws, and to protect the lives and properties of the citizens under their inviolable Ægis, would be the only individuals free from punishment and responsibility, and could even violate the law without incurring blame—they would be the *rulers* not the *servants* of the State; and, finally, that power which the State

has instituted for the security of the people, would fail to fulfil its object, and become a cruel scourge.

In our country, however, the laws clearly prove that no such stretch of judicial authority has ever existed. The Sixth Article of the Second Book of St. Ladislaus, the twenty-third paragraph of the First Book of Colomann, and divers of the laws of those times, enact heavy punishment against unjust judges; and punishment naturally supposes a strict responsibility. The Fourth Article of the year 1498 inflicts on the judge who has pronounced a corrupt judgment a still more weighty sentence; and this law has neither been abrogated nor become obsolete, for his Majesty the King, in the second point of the Royal Propositions, laid before the Diet of 1832–36, demands the abolishment thereof; a demand which would have been superfluous had it not continued in force. This law had not become absolute at the period of that Diet, and its existence is therefore undeniable.

But even those laws by virtue of which the Royal *Fiscus** brought against certain individuals an action of infamy; namely Article 54, 1486, and Article 70, 1492, —those laws, to which both the Government and the Noble Magnates have alike often appealed; and whose existence no one questions—of themselves clearly testify that the Judge is responsible for the illegality and injustice of his sentence: those very laws prescribing for him who falsely accuses a tribunal, the very same *infamatory* punishment which the corrupt Judge would incur could the accuser substantiate his charge. It is

* Principal Law-Officer. † Criminal.

therefore certain that the Judge can be made responsible, and even punished in proportion to his crime.

A reference could be given to several similar laws, and many precedents might be enumerated in our code, by which the unjust judgments of Judges have been annulled by the Diet; nevertheless, the States do not now insist upon any punishment or strict responsibility; but they declare the sentences of the higher tribunals to be unjust, inasmuch as that the usual course of law has been disregarded; and that those tribunals have by their award laid down such principles as are in direct opposition to our laws, and arrogated to themselves a position above the law, and a legislative power, which they even presume to claim.

It is by no means an unheard-of thing in our legislature for the Diet to declare the sentences of Judges to be contrary to the law. Thus during the Diet of 1811-12 the decisions which were pronounced on Financial Affairs conformably to an ordinance of the Crown, were decided to be illegal; and the States distinctly say in their Representation made on the 11th of August 1827: "We shall consider only those decisions as legal which have been pronounced in conformity to the enactments of the existing laws; on the other decisions (or judgments,) we reserve to ourselves the unconditional right of making any ulterior legal dispositions (or enactments)."

This Representation, together with the exclusion of all conditions, was then approved by the Noble Magnates themselves; and as a consequent measure they also declared to be illegal all those decisions which had

been made on Financial Affairs since the year 1814, in obedience to the Ordinances of the Crown; and if it were permitted to declare the illegality of decisions merely affecting the property of individuals in the face of the whole country, it is surely still more allowable to express the same of those which endanger the lives, liberties, and personal safety of the people; and, in opposition to the laws, threaten to destroy that general treasure of the nation—Publicity, and Freedom of Speech.

The Noble Magnates themselves recognise and practically exercise that privilege of the Diet which they in theory refuse to the States; for, in the second part of their *Renuncium*, they not only maintain, but even enter into circumstantial explanations why these particular decisions of the higher tribunals are just and legal. And it was by the same right that the States published their contrary views of the same subject; inasmuch as, if any corporation has a right to express its approbation of a measure, neither can it be denied the privilege of declaring its disapprobation in like manner.

The States have declared the decisions in question to be illegal:—1st, Because the ordinary judicial forms were not observed; the youths accused of High Treason* having been denied a complete and free defence,—their Counsel compelled to take an oath of secrecy, for which there is no precedent in the law,—its having been resolved that the defences should

* The individuals here alluded to are the Members of the Political Debating Society who are mentioned in Chapter XVII. of the First Volume.

be drawn up in the apartments of the Royal Fiscus under lock and key,—and from the examination of the witnesses, and their confronting with the accused, which is the most important feature of every criminal process as demanding the greatest circumspection, having taken place only in the presence of a limited number of members selected for this purpose, instead of in a full Court of Justice;—and, finally, because a strange and illegal course was followed; although Art. 56. of 1790–91, which renders such trials subordinate to the jurisdiction of the Royal Table,* makes no exception with regard to the proceedings; and admits no distinction between this trial, and the judicial proceedings of other trials subjected to the same jurisdiction. The Noble Magnates declare indeed that this procedure commenced immediately after the creation of the above-mentioned law, and is legalised by the practice of half a century; and that the Tribunals cannot in consequence deviate from it; but since the said 56th Art. states that infamatory and treasonable trials must not be withdrawn from the cognizance of the ordinary tribunals of the country, and makes no exception with regard to the form of the proceedings, it clearly establishes the usual judicial course equally in the processes under consideration; for in the expression "ordinary tribunals" is included not only the order of the judicial persons, but also that of the established judicial forms; the one being so inseparable from the other, that if the persons who sit in

* *Királyi Tábla*—Royal Court of Justice.

judgment do not pronounce sentence according to the usual custom, they do not represent an ordinary, but an extraordinary tribunal. This latter has, however, in cases of high treason been abandoned.

Moreover, the practice cited by the Noble Magnates began in consequence of an instruction transmitted from the Crown to the Royal Curia; and even thus, when the Tribunals demanded or received such instruction, and observed it in opposition to the law, they committed a grave offence against that independence which it was their first duty as Judges to maintain. Its continued practice by no means excuses the offence; for according to the same title in Verböczy, also cited by the Noble Magnates, that custom alone acquires legal validity which is not in opposition with either the laws of nature, or those of the land. But to deny to an individual under accusation a free and lawful opportunity of defence, agrees neither with natural law, nor with that of our nation, especially with the ninth title of the first part.

If it were sufficient in order to legalize an illegal proceeding, that it should acquire validity by long practice, founded on an instruction from the Crown, then would all the judicial decisions, in despite of the law which were made on the Financial Questions already alluded to in consequence of an ordinance transmitted from the Crown on the 1st of August, 1812, be perfectly legal, they having been founded on a superior order, which far from being a secret one, was publicly known throughout the country. These have the validity of practice, not merely in some secret trials, but

in a thousand public cases; and yet the States have, in their Representation of the 11th of August, declared those decisions to be illegal, they having been pronounced, not in conformity with the laws, but in obedience to the Ordinances of the Government, and in compliance with the practice which those Ordinances enjoin.

The objection advanced by the Noble Magnates that "since the Diet of 1807, when a partial modification of this procedure was indeed attempted by the States, but ultimately left in its actual condition in consequence of a Royal Rescript, the country has been duly apprized of it," does not lessen its illegality; for even this circumstance proves that as early as that period the States had already made it a subject of complaint.

Accordingly there appeared before the bar of the Tribunal, on the one side the enactment of the law, viz. that these trials could not be withdrawn from the national tribunals; and the general wish of the country expressed in a Regnicolar Deputation; and on the other side the secret practice originating in instructions from the Crown, and employed in certain trials. The Judges did not, however, obey the decrees of the law, nor the collective wish of the people, although such a proceeding would have been more in unison with the eternal laws of nature, the better feelings of humanity, and the pure dictates of truth.

On the contrary, they preferred obedience to the instructions of the Government, and the secret practice which they induced; a practice which, while it favours

the prosecutor, that is, the Royal Fiscus, limits the accused in their most inviolable civil and natural rights, although it is the decree of the law and of publicity that the accused shall ever be more favoured than the accuser.

Must we consider the circumstance as a tranquillizing pledge of Judicial independence that the States have, since the year 1807, both during the storms which then threatened our country, and subsequently, forgotten this item in the immense number of their other grievances, and thus entered no protest against it? The fact cannot weaken the imprescriptible national rights, which neither the destroying power of time, nor any difficulties created by Judges can diminish; and one of these is a legitimate and free opportunity of defence for the accused, without which a sentence, however morally just, can never be conformable to the laws.

The Superior Tribunals have further violated the law and the strict judicial routine, by not having, in a case of treason, disapproved of the arrest of Lewis Kossuth before he received a summons; and still more by having refused him, after repeated entreaties, the right of free defence; whereas, as already stated, the 7th Art. of 1715, does not, in cases of treason, permit under any circumstances or pretext, arrest before summons. The words of the law exclude every exception, or doubtful interpretation; and yet, notwithstanding this, the Superior Tribunals made an exception; and both they and the Government availed themselves of clauses in the old laws, although the enactments of subsequent

laws can in no wise be invalidated by those which have preceded them.

Thus then they have usurped the privilege of the legislative power, inasmuch as they have not only arbitrarily interpreted the clear enactments of the law, but have also garbled them to the great prejudice of the accused.

The Superior Tribunals have also neglected to express their disapprobation of all the arrests having been made by military force, and the civil authorities set aside; whereby, as already stated, their rights were infringed, and the 14th Art. of the year 1687 violated. And yet the duty of the Tribunals is to uphold the existing laws, and to confine within the due limits of his office the Royal Fiscus by whom their enactments were violated.

Finally, the Superior Tribunals have deeply infringed the prescribed order of Judicial procedure by laying down as an unconditional principle in their judgment pronounced on the 16th of January, 1838, in the trial of Baron Nicholas Wesselényi, that in the said penal process an exceptional defence* should not be admitted, although according to Article 56. of the year 1790-91 it is not excluded; since from the very nature

* The expression "*exceptional defence*" may require explanation. When an individual under accusation of treason is summoned into court, his first care is to endeavour to prove that his offence does not amount to treason, and this is technically termed *a defence by exception*. Should he fail, he must then defend himself for the treason; and this is called *a meritorious defence*; but should he succeed, he is summoned before another and inferior tribunal—viz. the County Authorities: in which case the prosecutor is no longer the Royal Fiscus, but the County Fiscus.

of the case it is evident that *the exceptional* forms the most important feature of the Defendant's defence, as endeavouring to prove that the accusation of the Royal Fiscus, however otherwise well founded, does not involve treason, and that the individual cannot consequently be judged by the Royal Table, either by the course of law so adopted, or the same public prosecutor who would otherwise act.

It is not possible to allege the practice of the courts as an excuse for this error, since not only those, but the example of the same Judges, and their contrary decisions in other cases loudly contradict it. In the above-mentioned trial of Baron Wesselényi, on the 26th of August, 1836, the jurisdiction was fixed by a decision; and in a similar trial of John Balogh for treason, in 1838, the summons was similarly settled, and an exceptional defence was not only denied, but its propriety or non-propriety was discussed; and consequently, a procedure which is in opposition not only to the law and the practice of the courts, but also with itself in its simple details, cannot by any means be legal.

The States could point out many other illegal deviations, especially such as professed to be remedial; but they forbear from entering into further detail, feeling persuaded that the repeated violations of the law and its formalities have been sufficiently proved by those which have been advanced.

The States have declared the decisions in question to be illegal.—2ndly. Because the Superior Tribunals have in their decisions laid down such principles as do

not accord with our laws, but are alike dangerous to the security of the citizen, and injurious to the State.

Inasmuch as these decisions inculcate the principle, that opinions, and the expression thereof in the General Assembly, are punishable as treason, even although succeeded by no act of guilt, and no incitement to illegal measures, but merely uttered during debates on legal and constitutional subjects. This principle is unknown in our law, and never mentioned in the enumeration of the cases of treason; and yet the Supreme Tribunals have pronounced sentence in conformity with it. If this principle be legally founded; and if, in legal meetings, an individual be subjected by participation in general discussions, notwithstanding the purity of his intentions and the perfect lawfulness of his actions, to an appeal compelling him to justify himself before a judicial functionary for each distinct expression, severed from his discourse, and deprived of its due connexion with the subject-matter of that discourse, its actual signification often depending greatly on the tone and gesture of the speaker, or on particular circumstances, of the whole of which the said judge is ignorant: and if it depend upon that Judge to attach to those expressions a character of innocence or criminality—then indeed the security of the citizen and the liberty of public debate must be dependent on his arbitrary will; for who shall define the line of demarcation traced by the law beyond which isolated expressions may not pass?

No arbitrary power is more dangerous than that which is exercised by the Judicial Tribunal, especially

in criminal cases, since it suffers itself to garble the law, whereby it perverts its meaning, and creates a new code, of which it makes immediate application in its sentence, where it *punishes before it prohibits.*

The Supreme Tribunals have established an illegal and dangerous principle, in attaching to the Administration a portion of the inviolability appertaining only to the sacred person of the Sovereign, by punishing as guilty of Treason those individuals who censured in severe terms the acts of the Government. This impunity of the Administration is unknown in our law; and moreover the 7th Art. of the 6th of Uladislaus II., as well as several other of our national laws, ordain a penalty for such members of the Administrative body as transgress them; a fact which gainsays the inviolability to which they lay claim.

The person of the Sovereign is sacred and inviolable, but the errors of the Government cannot be covered by his protecting Ægis in a constitutional country; for were this impunity permitted, or were individuals deterred from expressing their dissatisfaction of those errors, the freedom of the Constitution would be wrested from its hinges, and the censure and reproach drawn down by the acts of the Administration would be directed against the person of the Monarch, thereby detracting from his inviolability, his high dignity, and the respect which is his due; and no less certainly creating danger to the State.

When in truth we reflect that our Tribunals threaten with trial for treason those citizens who have censured the proceedings of the Government, defending its im-

punity with their judicial power; and that the Government in its turn inflicts punishment on those who raise their voices against the illegal decisions of the Supreme Tribunals, and delivers them over to the judges who have been thus impugned; the heart of every true patriot must be filled with apprehension; for where can the injured seek redress against this double power?

The paternal kindness, and the love of justice of the Sovereign, however, watch over the law. It is to him alone that the nation looks for protection, support, and redress; and before him only do the States desire to lay their complaint; a privilege which none have the right to deny to them.

The Supreme Courts have established an illegal precedent in denominating as a punishable offence the simple communication by letter of the public proceedings of the Congregations;* such a decision being recognized neither by law nor practice; and without lawful showing no citizen can be deprived of his natural rights.

They have also established an illegal principle by declaring that the Government has power to interdict all such private correspondence, and that whosoever disregards such prohibition commits treason, for no law exists in support of this declaration; and if every individual who disobeys the command of the Sovereign be a traitor, then should those who violate any minor law be also subjected to trial for *treason*, inasmuch as every law is at the same time a royal command which is united in

* County Meetings.

the law with the will of the nation. But to give so wide an interpretation as this to the law of treason would be alike improper and dangerous.

Again, the Supreme Tribunals have established an illegal principle in approving that a police order emanating from the Crown should be directed against a single citizen, thereby setting aside the prerogative of the Central Court of Justice; and in declaring that disobedience to the said order, and a consequent application to a common judicial court, was rebellion against the State; such a declaration being in opposition to the laws, especially to the previously quoted 78th, 79th, and 80th Art. of 1563, which detail the divers "Supreme Commands," but make no mention of police orders directed against private individuals; while they decree against those who disobey the "Supreme Commands" (Ordinances of the Crown,) a suitable punishment, but not the penalty of treason.

The Royal Curia has therefore not only deviated from the law in this respect, but has actually pronounced sentence in opposition to it. This principle is also contrary to the constitution, inasmuch as it limits the constitutional rights of the counties, confirmed by the fourteenth Art. of 1790-91—whereby they are privileged to denounce such ordinances of the Government as are in opposition to the law, and to comment upon them freely; while, should the principle alluded to maintain itself, the citizens would no longer be governed by the law, but by "extraordinary Supreme Orders," a system prohibited by Art. 10. and 12. of 1790-91.

It is also illegal that the Supreme Courts, while they

confess in their sentences that neither the original ordinance of the Crown, nor even a copy of it, was communicated to them, should have nevertheless based their penal decisions upon an order which they had never seen.

Finally, the Supreme Tribunals have maintained an illegal doctrine by declaring in their sentence passed on the Baron Wesselényi, that he is culpable for having dispatched detailed copies of his trial to several counties without having received a sanction to that effect; a circumstance which they affirm to be particularly criminating. But where, as the Royal Fiscus did not desire that the trials for treason should be conducted in secret, is the law which prohibits their being so communicated? And wherefore should it be declared a crime to forward these trials without comment to the constitutional jurisdictions of the country?

The Judge has no right to create criminality where it is not recognised by the law; and by so doing he exceeds his office and encroaches on the privileges of the legislature; while the Judge who has strictly performed his duty, will see no cause for displeasure that a trial at which he has presided be faithfully published in all its details; inasmuch as publicity is the surest guardian of truth, and can only tend to protect him from private calumny and misrepresentation.

Much more that is illegal might be collected from these decisions. It might be said of them, as of the Social Union,* that they were framed without authority;

* The Debating Society mentioned in Chapter vi. Vol. I.

and it is also worthy of mention that many expressions have been attributed as a crime, not to the writer but to the individual to whom they were addressed; while several public representations, instead of being directed against the speaker, have been made against him who merely wrote to others what had been publicly pronounced.

The States wish, however, to avoid all details of what has already been mentioned; having sufficiently demonstrated that the decisions of the Supreme Tribunals are, in many points, in opposition to the laws.

Thus, as the States, conformably to what has been advanced, have weighty reasons for declaring the said decisions of the Supreme Courts of Judicature to be illegal; and that their publication is one of the unalienable rights of the National Diet; nothing more remains than that they endeavour by virtue of their privilege as citizens and representatives, to maintain the rights of the nation, and to obtain redress for their great grievances (*gravamina*) by every legal method. They therefore do again entreat His Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke-Palatine of the Realm, and confidently request of the Noble Magnates, to take into serious consideration the redress of their grievances, and to dispel without further delay the apprehensions of the nation.

Finally, as regards the declaration of the Noble Magnates, that in order to remove the apprehensions of their fellow-citizens, they are ready to contribute to the formation of new and adequate laws of a beneficial tendency; the States beg leave to remark that since the misgivings arose from a violation of those now existing, new laws

would fail to remove them; but that it is necessary to grant not only a redress of grievances but moreover an assurance that the existing laws shall be no more violated. Those principles and views which the Noble Magnates have expressed concerning the independence of the judicial office fail to yield such an assurance; for if the illegal sentence of a Judge cannot be denounced as such by the legislature, and if no voice may be raised against it, no new law would ensure this object, as no civil authority would guarantee its enforcement.

The States, however, reserve to themselves, in conformity to their rights as Deputies, to deliberate at a fitting season the eligibility and completeness of the existing laws upon this subject; and in how far they require modification to ensure the desired object, and to be at the same time in conformity to the exigences of the times and of the public good.

The present grievances meanwhile have no connexion with the formation of new laws, having arisen solely from the neglect of those already existing, by which they must be also judged and remedied; wherefore the States consider it expedient before all things to obtain redress of grievances, and to ensure security for the faithful observance of the laws.

They therefore renew their demand that His Imperia and Royal Highness the Archduke-Palatine of the Realm, and the Noble Magnates, may approve the present Representation; and by discovering a remedy for their griefs, terminate at once the apprehensions of the nation.

II.

Extract from a County Address to the Crown on the Subject of Legitimate Liberty of Speech.

The anxiety and painful apprehension which we felt on learning that the Baron Nicholas Wesselényi had been subjected to a trial for treason in consequence of a speech made by him four years previously, at the Congregation (County-Meeting) of the Comitat of Szathmár, and on hearing that this violation of the liberty of speech increased from day to day, with the gradual progress of the proceedings, has now gained its height: for our fear lest the fundamental pillar of our liberties might thereby be shaken, has now become mournfully realized.

It is with sincere sorrow that we see,—instead of the anticipated success that should have resulted from the Representation relative to the redress of our grievances and their consequences, which, with the humblest submission and filial confidence we laid before your Majesty, who are the fountain of justice and of royal grace,—that the heavy penalty of an imprisonment of several years has been inflicted by the Royal Table on an individual who is universally esteemed; whereby the public grievances (*gravamina*) are continued.

Our grief (*gravamen*) is therefore doubled; but as the Supreme Court has already pronounced its sentence, and we have too much respect for the constitutional representatives of judicial independence to enter a protest against their decision, we can only deeply deplore

the calamity which has befallen the Baron Wesselényi, and declare our sympathy in his misfortune.

Moreover, as we perceive with sorrow from several cases which are following in rapid succession, that the general liberty of speech which we must endeavour in our judicial meetings to maintain, *has been, and now is,* violated; and that even free discussion in the Diet, which has hitherto been preserved inviolate, is limited; while those who express their sentiments under the ægis of legitimate liberty of speech, have in opposition to Art. 62. of 1625, Art. 7. of 1723, and 27. of 1723, been subjected partly to trial for treason, and partly to other penal processes; we cannot avoid entertaining well-founded apprehensions for our future existence, when we reflect on the danger which threatens our present liberty and welfare. Nevertheless, we entertain not the slightest doubt that your Majesty will, after having summoned the States on the expiration of the three years prescribed by law, remedy this evil in accordance with the gracious promise to preserve the rights of our country.*

We most humbly beseech your Majesty, in consideration of the emergency of the case, speedily to convoke a Diet, in order to remedy this national grievance before all others; and thereby to restore legitimate liberty of speech as an indispensable feature of the Debates, and to place it beyond the reach of judicial despotism.

From the General Congregation holden on the 1st of February 1839. Alexander Szegedi, Chief Notary.

* The Emperor of Austria, on his coronation as King of Hungary, takes a solemn oath to protect and uphold the constitution of the country.

III.

Speech of Count Stephen Széchenyi in the matter of Count Gidion Ráday in the Chamber of Magnates, on the 2nd of July, 1839.

It is with bitter feelings, noble Magnates, that I rise to speak, for sincerely do I wish that this melancholy subject had never been brought under our consideration. The system pursued by the Government in the instance under debate, is the same by which for the four last years it has distressed our country. I knew that these proceedings of the Administration would call forth a strong reaction, and I feared lest the flames of public indignation and disappointment might out of time and season, blaze forth, and threaten our nation. I have striven to the extent of my power to calm this great agitation. I wished not to increase it by a word; and therefore I have hitherto remained silent. Think not, however, that I have escaped my share of suffering—I have looked on with anguish of mind; nor has that anguish been diminished by the fact that I have been accused of apathy—and that many have been heard to say that the patriotic zeal of Stephen Széchenyi had grown cool! I bore even this—I preferred the sacrifice of my own feelings to the risk of endangering the public tranquillity, and I remained silent; but now I would that this matter should be at once decided.

Noble Magnates, since we are summoned by our

gracious Monarch to promote the happiness of our country, let us act as becomes the delegates of such a trust. Let us endeavour to ensure to our country not merely a feigned confidence, but an earnest and real trust in the Government; and to place the nation in a position of friendly intercourse with its Sovereign; and let the Government on its side manifest its policy, its wisdom, and the soundness of its judgment by regaining public opinion, which now, agitated by bitter wrong, frequently misinterprets the most salutary measures.

The whole enlightened public is familiar with the name of the Count Ráday. That the County of Pesth bestowed upon him its unlimited confidence is also well known. I honour our most gracious Monarch. I honour the Government. But that either the King or the Administration has the power to limit or to control the confidence of others, I deny.

On this subject the judgment must be pronounced by a higher voice—the voice of public opinion, before which we must all alike bow down.

IV.

By the kindness of M. de Döbrentei I am enabled to enrich my work with a facsimile of the most ancient Hungarian MS. in existence. It has been carefully copied and printed in the first volume of a work entitled "*Régé Magyar Nyelvemlékek*," or "Ancient Monuments of the

Hungarian Language," in 3 vols. quarto, edited by M. de Döbrentei, and published at Buda in 1838. It consists of a Funeral Oration (a) and a Funeral Prayer (b); and was discovered attached to an old Missal in a Ritual, which, according to M. de Döbrentei, was transcribed in 1171, during the reign of Stephen III. of the race of Arpád, from an original, probably written in the time of Stephen I. between 1000 and 1038, as he gathers from the obsolete style, and the subsequent corrections.

THE END.

J. Rickerby, Printer, Sherbourn Lane.

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